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This is the combination that makes our VIP Tripleheader shave so remarkably close. As the diagram shows. our floating heads expose a part of your whiskers that's hard to reach

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Incredibly close! But with nine closeness-comfort settings, the VIP is also incredibly comfortable. Because it has one setting for very light beards. One for very heavy. And one that's just right for you, no matter what kind of beard you have.



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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

WRITING about the new doubts concerning the traditional American work ethic, Donald Morrison found last week, can be hard work. "For one thing," he says, "the elements in this essay are so compelling and interwoven that you can summarize them no more easily than a Nabokov novel. And journalists are so accustomed to burning the midnight bulb that you have to remind yourself repeatedly that things can be different in other lines of work.

Saigon Bureau Chief Stanley Cloud can serve as Exhibit A of the work ethic in journalism. "In Viet Nam," he says, "correspondents routinely labor twelve hours a day. When you are not covering the story, you are writing about it; when you are not writing about it, you are talking about it." Late last week the Saigon bureau learned the outlines of the secret peace plan reliably reported to have been developed in Paris. Cloud's report became the principal part of our cover story on the negotiations. Timothy James, a veteran of many late-breaking stories on the war, worked through Sat-

urday writing the article. Reporter-Researcher Robert Goldstein assisted running down contradictions in information and checking the finished story. It was Goldstein's second cover assignment in two weeks. "I look at it this way," he says. "Theaters and restaurants are terribly crowded on Saturday night.

One does not have to be in our Saigon bureau or Nation section to keep busy. Hardly was martial law declared in South Korea last week when Tokyo Bureau Chief Herman Nickel was on his way. After getting a scarce seat on the night's last plane, he arrived in Seoul to find a midnight curfew, hotel rooms booked solid, and Korean officials reluctant to talk. Nickel persisted, and he pro-



duced this week's story in World. Paris Correspondent Paul Ress fought more basic elements to reach the Valley of Marvels in the Maritime Alps for a report to the Science section. The site of a rich collection of Bronze Age art, the valley is blocked by snow ten months of the year. Ress traveled there in a Jeep over a goat path, across creaky wooden bridges-in the midst of a rainstorm. If anything could dry up one's ardor for work, it might be covering a drought in India. New Delhi Correspondent William Stewart journeyed 1,000 miles to remote Andhra Pradesh, spent a day in near-100° heat talking to farmers, and most of the night writing. For his troubles, he contracted dysentery -then learned that publication of the story had been postponed.

In Brussels, Correspondent Roger Beardwood paused near the end of a twelve-hour day to cogitate about newsmen's work addiction. "What else is there in life," he concluded, "except increasing your knowledge, burnishing your prose style and sitting at the telex? Beaches are boring, and skiing is a very expensive way of descending rapidly what you have ascended slowly

Ralph P. Davdson INDEX

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ALL SMALL CARS SOLVE THE PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE BIG CAR. **OUR SMALL CAR SOLVES THE PROBLEMS** INHERENT IN THE SMALL CAR.

This year, economics and the conditions of urban traffic will drive millions of Americans to the small car.

These American converts will discover, however, that most small cars, for all their virtues, can have two major problems of their own, First, lack of inside space, And second, compared to the 425-horsepower monsters Americans are used to driving, disappointing performance.

Which is why we thought you'd like to know about a small car that doesn't have those problems. The Fiat 128. One of the big reasons why in Europe, where they've been living with small cars for three generations, they buy more Fiats than anything else.

You see, ever since we invented the small car in 1936, our engineers have been



Fiat 128 is shorter outside than a VW Beetle. it's bigger inside than an Oldsmobile Cutlass and has a 13 cu. ft. trunk. In fact, 80% of the car's space is devoted to you and

pay a big-car still have the roominess and performance they needed. Asfor room while the

who couldn't

proud of the cars it makes, the Fiat 128 has won more international Car of the Year awards than any small car in car history. Or any big car, too, for that matter. Space considerations aside, many small-car owners are reluctant about taking The biggest selling car in Europe. a corner fast or driving in a strong crosswind. That's why the Fiat 128 is built wider than the big-selling Japanese and German imports. And why it has standard radial tires (usually a \$100 option). All-independent suspension. And the same responsive rack and-pinion steering usually found on Ferraris, Porsches, and Jaguars. What if you're trying to pass a giant truck or merge into fast moving highway traffic? If you've got to accelerate from, say, 40 to 70 mph

edge of more than six car over America's favorite small car. And since stopping fast can be equally important, it has self-adjusting front disc brakes



THAN PUSHING. THAT'S WHY WE HAVE FRONT-WHEEL DRIVE.

Lastly, there's another item that distinguishes the Fiat 128: front-wheel drive. This means superior handling and performance, because the wheels that move the car are also the wheels that turn the car. And because pulling is a more efficient way to move something than pushing.

(It also means superior traction in ice and snow. In fact, for the last two years the Fiat 128 has won the Canadian Winter Rally. which is run over ice and snow the likes of which we hardly ever see in the States.) The Fiat 128 is available in 2-door.

4-door, and station wagon models. To appreciate just how good it is, you should know that in Europe, where each country is fiercely

to do it, the Fiat 128's overhead cam engine gives you ar

Franklin, Ohio. Where garbage doesn't go to waste.



Almost nothing will stop it



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Because your winter driving problems often change from hour to hour, Firestone put together three tread sections to do the winter job right. The stable traction section on the left puts a lot of rubber on the road for steering control, dry payement stopping and quiet running. Center Z bars provide a smooth ride and good mileage. The open traction section on the right is there to take those big hungry bites that stop and start you in deep snow and slush. And for those exciting miles you spend on glare ice and hard packed snow, this tire has room for eight rows of studs* instead of six.

You can put these tires up front, too, where most of your stopping and steering control come from. So you can head your car into winter and know...almost nothing will stop it. (Available for U.S. and most imported cars.)



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Our Souverain white varietal wines are the perfect example of how you can be great, expensive, and still remain unknown. We just don't make enough for you to see them in every wine store

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Then our cellarmaster takes over -in his own meticulous, demanding way. Each wine is given a long, cool fermentation in small oak cooperage -following the centuries old tradition of the finest European wine cellars. Afterwards, our wines are slowly and carefully aged in the cask







freshest, fruitiest whites imaginable, rivaling the greatness of their European heritage. We have a Chardonnay with the splendid character of the finest white burgundy; Pineau Souverain, dry and crisp, from the rare Pineau de la Loire grape: Johannisberger Riesling, produced with the true White Riesling of the Rheingau. And we proudly vintage date each bottle

ouverair

Look for Souverain whites. Crafted the way great wines should be. They're hard to find, but worth searching for SOUVERAIN CELLARS

RUTHERFORD NAPA VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

LETTERS

Fire or Ice

Sir / The title of your cover article "The Two Americas" [Oct. 2] reflects the contem-porary delusion that the American political organism is fractured into two parts. It is as if there existed a left and a right hand

For the Middle American (conceiving that term in the economic, not cultural or social sense) there is no choice in the presidential election. On the Nixon side there is a caste of the superprivileged; on the Mc Govern side, a caste of the underprivileged. The "apathy" which you allude to reflects a dim awareness on the part of the Middle American that he has been given a choice between death by fire or by ice CECIL D. EBY

Tecumseh, Mich.

Sir / You seem to suggest, both through explicit statements and not so subtle innuendo, that anyone who supports Nixon must unprincipled as you perceive the President

Writing of this sort is insulting both to the integrity of a large segment of the Amer-ican public and the intelligence of your own

TODD ROTHBARD

Sir / If Richard Nixon is indeed less compassionate than George McGovern, it is not because he was raised a Quaker rather than a Methodist. Instead, one might say it is because his early religious education did not take.

F.B. GODEKE

Sir / It is strange how people will go along with President Nixon on Viet Nam and possibly give up their lives, but they won't follow the McGovern ethic of helping one's

Birmingham, Mich

Sir / According to TIME, McGovern's view of government is paternalistic, whereas Nixon's is individualistic. McGovern will give you the basics of life and then tell you one the opportunity to make and live his own life. The choice is clear.

Nokesville, Va Sir / George McGovern doesn't frighten us. We are old enough to recall all the fears about that "terrible radical" Franklin D.

Roosevelt, who proved to be an outstanding Who should be afraid of a label? We should fear far more the reality that we have

in the presidency now. Boulder Creek, Calif.

Sir / Considering his many solid accom-plishments, why is it so "astonishing" that Nixon has such a big lead in the polls? How could we go for four years of whining, com-plaining, vacillating and indecision by one who has exhibited such a mediocre record

> NEAL ROHRER Kingsburg, Calif.

Sir / I think your story about "two Americas" was laced with truths, but you copped out in the last paragraph. Where is the increased sophistication you attribute to to-







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There's "Bull's Blood" - Egri Bikaver-a robust red wine that's excellent with steak, roasts, venison, and goulash; Tokay Aszu - golden, fragrant, exquisite, a dessert wine

once so scarce it was known as "Liquid Gold"; Greyfriar Szurkebarat-a characteristic mellow bouquet unique to Hungary's Lake Balaton region.

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day's electorate if the voters are less will-ing to discuss issues? Perhaps the issues today are too painful for Americans to be honest with themselves about. The war, poverty, racism, etc., draw sharply uncomfortable contrasts between our professed actions. Nixon's America seems neither candid nor even curious about the root causes of these national failures of the "Amer-

ROBERT L. GAY Portland, Ore.

Sir / I'm a 37-year-old WASP middle-class Southerner. I liked Ike, backed Nixon against J.F.K., watched polls for Goldwa-ter, worked for R.M.N. against H.H.H.

All of my years perched on the ele-nt's back have taught me one truth: the G.O.P. has never done a beneficial thing for losophy is to let the people bite the bullet

while the fat cats get fatter.
I'm now a Republican for McGovern.
WILLIAM S. DOXEY

Pat and Eleanor

Sir / Hooray for Eleanor McGovern [Oct. At last there could be a woman in the White House who is willing to stand up and be counted for what she believes, who is ca-pable of discussing issues and who would be more than a china-doll First Lady. How eresting to contrast her style with that of Mrs. Nixon, who can say after a cross-coun-

try trip that she didn't see any problems.
(MRS.) JEANNE BREAUGH Lansing, Mich.

Sir / Without a doubt, Eleanor is prettier than George, But for all her ersatz eyelashes and frosted hair, her image is still one of a wife parroting the absurd, any-promisefor-a-vote utterances of her husband

Sir / Since everyone is so enamored of the candidates' wives, surely it must be time for

a woman to campaign for the presidency PHYLLIS TURNER

Tucson, Ariz

Why Did They Come?

Sir / You quote President Nixon as telling some New York City parochial school stufact that the forefathers of 10% of our population came to the American shores in chains-as handouts. ERIC JOY

Roasted Cats

Sir / And it came to pass that three antiwar activists journeyed to the camp of the thereby, in collaboration with the enemy to score a great propaganda victory over the U.S. But upon arriving in their homeland. American prisoners of emerged from their aircraft adorned in the military uniform of their country, complete diated those who sought to make profit from After I treat you like the chairman of the board on the plane, I give you 29 branch offices in Germany when you land, so that being there will be as easy as getting there.

Augsburg

The Red Baron



Freiburg

Here you see 29 dots, each one the location of a Lufthansa office in Germany. My people in each one will help you obtain hotel reservations and car rental, find you a secretary or an interpreter, tip you off on business hours, customs regulations, who to contact, and banking services when you fly to you with shopping and sightseeing advice when you're off-duty. Nobody knows Germany better than we do, because when we fly to Germany we're going home. For reservations: your travel agent or Lufthansa.

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When you come as a family, you can get a baby-sitter who'll sit in gardens, sit on beaches, bathe, feed, read to and rock to sleep.

For \$5 a day.

They used to be called "nannys." In Old Jamaica. (From the African word "naana," meaning grandparent.)

In today's Jamaica, they're called "nursemaids" and they're a professional service.

They're trained, under the government's eye, in first aid, swimming, child care.

And they look like Arviel Ferrigan (right), young (19 to 25), educated and as limber as any five-

year-old.

For visitors, Jamaica's Nursemaid Service is a Big Bargain.

(Even with the extra cost of lunch

which must be provided.)
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You get to know us. Personally.

As part of your family.

You'll hear about our Br'er Rabbit (Annancy the Spider) and kling-kling birds and breadfruit trees and Punchinello and "funnin" and what it's like to grow up in a land where the whole country is a playeround.

If you want to take your kids sightseeing (the \$5 fee, incidentally, covers caring for two of them from 9 to 7), the nursemaid will go along to Dunn's River Falls or Rose Hall or Boston Beach or rafting or Boononoonoos kite-flying.

You couldn't find a better companion.

Especially for people aged 6

months to 10 years.
For more about modern "nannys,"

ancient Annancy, birds or Boonoonoonoos, see a travel agent or Jamaica Tourist Board in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Washington, D.C., Dallas,



If weekends were meant to be dull, they'd come on Tuesday and Wednesday.



This weekend doesn't have to be like last weekend.

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The prices we've listed above apply between now and December 15, and don't include meals or taxes.

They do include your round-trip ticket (based on weekend coach/tourist fares). Your hotel room (based on double occupancy). And many extras.

For complete details, see your travel agent or call Eastern at 467-2900 in Chicago.

HAVE A NICE WEEKEND.



The Wines of Man" is a registered service mark of Eastern Air Lines. Inc.

them—causing the profit-seekers to scream like roasted cats. And lo, the propaganda victory had turned to ashes.

Score one for the home team W.B. ROUTSONG

Sir / That the cynical men of Hanoi should seek to use P.O.W.s as political guided mis-siles to influence the American election is hardly surprising.

Of one thing I am very certain: Americans will never tolerate such interference in our election process. Woe to the politician who seeks to win by becoming a "Manchurian Candidate

CHARLES HASEK

Who Is Unemployed?

Sir / Your article on unemployment, "Not Enough Jobs" [Oct. 9], takes my words far, far out of context.

The President has been working to actives an economy that will provide jobs for everyone who wants to work. In the meanwhile, in treating one part of the un-employment problem, we need to concen-trate federal manpower programs on train-ing the unskilled. My words, in corre-context, referred only to that one aspect of the problem. achieve an economy that will provide jobs

The President reduced overall military manpower levels, which added large num-bers to the work force, and he reduced defense contracting, which reduced the num-ber of civilian defense jobs. Yet employ-ment has reached 82.2 million, an alltime high, achieved with record numbers of new jobs over the past two years.

It is inaccurate to suggest, as your ar-ticle implies, that the total unemployment rate and numbers represent people who have lost their jobs. Of the 4.8 million unemployed in September 1972, 635,000 left



It sends music out in all directions, surrounds you with sound everywhere in the room. Big, fully lit clock numerals and FM/AM dial. Radio lulls you to sleep, shuts itself off, wakes you next morning. The Luminar, model C472W-hear it at your Zenith dealer's. At Zenith, the quality goes in









MAIL TO: TIME 541 North Fair banks Court,

an oasis for your ears



WHAT TO DO WITH WINE BESIDES DRINK IT.

Unfortunately, wine doesn't come with instructions. And lots of people have never known much about its proper care.

We at Inglenook Vineyards would like to take this time to give you a few pointers on the subject. We spend a lot of time and money in the making of our wine. And once it passes out of our hands, we'd like to feel that it's being given the

best possible treatment.

DON'T MAKE THIS COMMON MISTAKE.

Wine should always be stored lying down on its side, never standing up. That's so the cork will lways be moist.



the wine and spoil it. Keep wine in a

cool, dark place. About 55-60 degrees is just right. But the

most important thing is that the temperature be constant. It should vary no more than a few degrees year round

DECANTING WINE.

If you have wines five years old and older, they may have a little sediment in them. In order to serve the wine without the sediment getting mixed up in the wine, you should decant it.

To do this, just pour the wine very slowly into another bottle or carafe. Place a candle behind the neck of the bottle and the second you see a little sediment coming across, stop.

THE ROOM TEMPERATURE MYTH.

White wines and sparkling wines such as Champagne and rosé should be served cold. How cold is cold? 45 degrees is just right. If you don't have a thermometer, put the wine in the refrigerator for 21/2 hours before serving. Or in a bucket with ice cubes and water for 15 minutes. Red wines should be served at room

temperature. But this doesn't mean 72 degrees The "room temperature" standard was established in Europe long before the invention of central heating. At that time, rooms in Europe were about 65 to 68 degrees, which is the perfect temperature for serving red wines. You can bring a wine's temperature down to that level by placing it in the

refrigerator five minutes before serving. But never heat a bottle of red wine in order to get it up to the proper temperature. There's no quicker way to destroy a bottle of wine than to heat it up.

AVOIDING THAT METALLIC TASTE.



Remove the metal capsule from the top of the wine bottle below the lip. With a napkin. clean off the top between the cork and the glass. This is done because it's impossible to pour wine from a bottle without spilling a little on the lip. And since the metal cap is sometimes corroded the wine

could pick up a metallic taste if it

were to spill over the edge. Now remove the cork, gently, so as not to disturb the wine. We recommend the wing-type corkscrew because you don't have to jerk it to get the cork out.

A FINAL WORD OF CAUTION.

Now that you know the basics of how to treat wine, you should also know there aren't many wines around that deserve this kind of treatment. Because there's nothing you can do at home to

save a wine if it's been mishandled at the winery. Which brings us to Inglenook

We take elaborate precautions to make sure our wine is handled properly For instance, the walls of our wine cellar are

3 feet thick limestone, which keeps the temperature constant. Our wine casks rest upon a dirt foundation,

instead of concrete, the usual practice. This promotes fresh air circulation, and it also stabilizes the humidity

If you look on the label of our wine, you'll see the words, "Produced and Bottled by Inglenook Vineyards

This means we produce the wine from start to finish, in order to make sure that our wine is never mishandled.

Naturally, this kind of extra care costs extra money

And we pass the extra cost right on Inglenook is the most expensive

wine made in America. So when you pick up a bottle of it, take good care of it. And it'll take good care of you.





Which of these cities has the biggest voter turnout?









Chicago

St. Louis





Source: Presidential vores cast in 1968 as a percent of the estimated population of voting age for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and the nation. Based on data from the Bureau of the Census, US. Department of Commerce; and Governmental Affairia Intinitive (Copyright by Congressional Quarterly, Inc., Washington, D.C.) as contained within "Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1917. US. Department of Commerce.

If you're a politician, you know the answer is Chicago. Among these cities, it had

the best voter turnout, of those eligible to vote, in the last

Chicago's turnout: 68.3%, Which compares with 61.8% for the U.S. as a whole

So in 1968 only about six of every ten Americans who could vote for the next

President did so. Why so few?

The CBS Owned AM radio stations in these seven cities believe that a reason for lack of interest is lack

of information. So we try to stimulate the one by supplying the other.

Before the primaries, New Yorkers could write to WCBS Newsradio for the tenyear voting records of the then 11 Presidential candidates.

KNX Newsradio brought Los Angelenos three full-hour broadcasts of editorial endorsements and rebuttals on 1972 California office-seekers.

WEEI Boston won a national award for its drive to register 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds.

With this kind of political information, we help get out the vote.

Because, to update an old American slogan, we don't believe in taxation-or anything else-without representation. And there's only one way

The CBS Owned AM Stations

We feel responsible to over 60 million people.

WEEI Newsradio 59, Boste WCBS Newsradio 88, New York WCAU Radio 121, Philadelphia WBBM Newsradio 78, Chicago KCBS Newsradio 74, San Francisco KNX Newsradio 1070, Los Angeles Represented by CBS Radio Spot Sales





Built to be seen. Not heard.

Take a good look at the new Satellite Sebring-Plus. We've restyled it to give it a look we think a lot of people are going to like.

But that's only the beginning. Here's the inside story

You know all those irritating little noises your car makes when you drive down the highway? Like windwhistle. Tire noise. Traffic sounds.

Well, we've built a car to quiet those noises. This transparent car has colored areas showing where we placed sound silencers in the new Sebring-Plus. We've added special door and window seals, for example.

And things like floor silencers and roof pads to keep the street noises outside the car.

It all means that the Sebring-Plus will be a quieter

car than ever before, "Super-Quiet" we call it.

If Satellite sounds like your kind of car, stop at your Chrysler-Plymouth dealer's. Take a good look at our new Satellite.

Drive it, listen to the quiet, experience the new ride and the way it handles. Then decide. We don't think there's a better choice in a mid-size car.

Mid-size Plymouth Satellite CHRYSLER

Extra care in engineering . . . it makes a difference. Plymouth



their jobs voluntarily; 649,000 were seeking work for the first time; and 1.452.000 had decided to return to work after having voluntarily separated from work some time ago. In fact, 2.1 million, less than half of the 4.8 million unemployed, had actually

lost their jobs. That number is still too high, but it does suggest that a narrow approach to the statistics alone may be misleading.

JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs Washington, D.C.

Come Home

Sir / Hooray for "The State of Union" [Oct. 9]! Since World War II. America's liberal Protestant seminaries have been ignoring parish churches and their pastoral needs. Conservative evangelical seminaries that Union, Yale, Chicago, Harvard, et al. refuse to supply. Money for these institu-tions is therefore predictably drying up. And the teachers "barrage of debunking and skepticism," aimed at students who already are startled when someone inquires. "Don't we begin with a prayer? ing the ruination of liberal Protestantism

This is both an American and a Christian tragedy. Come home Union. Yale. Chicago, Harvard, Come home

(THE REV.) JAMES N. MCCUTCHEON First Congregational Church Kalamazoo, Mich.

Sir / A few years ago, in a society bulging with injustice and suffering. Union Theological Seminary was wearing a \$300 suit

excellence, a liberal perspective and a critical (though serious) approach to the bib-lical message and Christian life. Although the seminary no longer wears the same truth-seeking spirit today. Bless Union for its willingness to face the risks that the Christian faith demands in an age and nation no longer innocent or holy-despite the

A Little Vinegar

Sir / TIME Essavist Stefan Kanfer writes "The Decline and Fill of the American t Dog" [Oct. 2]: "As for mustard, it Hot Dog goes on those dubious wieners, adding its adulterates to theirs." Prepared mustard made in the U.S. is by regulatory mandate pure, consisting of ground mustard seed or mustard flour, salt, vinegar, with or without sugar and/or dextrose, spices or other

It contains no additives, chemicals or

The R.T. French Co.

Schooled

Sir / Your article "Illinois Innovator" [Oct. 9] about Michael J. Bakalis, superintendent of public instruction, was excellent he happens to be my son. However, may I correct one error. Yes, I came here from Greece many years ago, but I am not un-schooled as your article stated. I was educated in Greece and also attended

Padded Bra

Sir / Putting a Rolls-Royce hood on a VW Bug [Oct. 9] is like wearing a padded bra. NANCY RUFF Lewiston Me.

Bumper Stickers

Sir / Speaking of bumper stickers [Oct..9], how about "Being President means never having to say you're sorry.

GLORIA LARRIEU Kalamazoo Mich

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

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Now in Menthol, too. Carlton

3 mg."tar."

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Filter: 3 mg. "tar", 0.3 mg. nicotine; Menthol: 4 mg. "tar", 0.3 mg. nicotine; av. per cigarette, FTC Report Aug. '72

THE NATION

AMERICAN NOTES

Nixon's Complaint

For a moment lass week. Richard Nixon reclaimod more of the old rhetorical battlegrounds that Spiro Agnews, acuted recently when he assumed his loft-ier persona. In an address before the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, the President attacked "the so-called opinion leaders in this country." Specifically, Nixon was angry at "the leaders of the media, the presidents of our top businessmen" for not supporting his bombing policies or his May 8 decision to mine Hajhpong harbot.

As he sometimes does, the President stack a note combining truculence and self-pity. His critics have failed, Nixon went on, "to understand the importance of great decisions and the necessity to stand by the President of the United States when he makes a terribly difficult, potentially unpopular decision."

Those critics might reply that the President's current policies are demonstrably not all that unpopular. The more might be therefore usually the defended of the present properties of the present properties of the present p

Consciousness Raising at 104

Chalk up a score for Women's Lib in Grove City, Ohio. Ms. Mary Walter, who has never voted in her 104 years, has decided to break down and cast a ballot in the upcoming election. As she explains: 'I never voted before because I didn't think it was right for women to vote. They had enough to do at home. I guess that was the old style.

Some of Mary's more liberated sisters may not agree with her choice, however; she plans to vote for Richard Nixon because, she says, "I got a lovely card from him on my birthday." Right on, Mary.

Sexist Politics

The Republicans are leaving nothing to chance, including candidates' wives. A manual put out by the National Acquibition Congressional Committeness of the Compression of Committeness on instabout every mentionable occasion. Dress, for example: "Not too short. Be certain hemitine is straight. No missing buttons." Perfume "Into too much—light cologne better." Manner: "When you'n husband is speaking, better in the cologne of the cologne of the cologne better." When you husband is speaking, better the cologne of th

More in tune with the times, if no less officious, the Democratis have put out a sheet for both wives and husbands, since two dozen Democratic women are running for Congress. A thoughtful husband, the manual advises, should squelch any rumors that his wife is running for office because their marriage is on the skids. "It's your job to let the

voters know that she can do it—and that you want her to do it, that you're with her all the way." Meanwhile, keep the home fires burning as best you can. "You can't become a homemaker By you can serve TV dimens in a princh, you can serve TV dimens in a princh, you can serve TV dimens in a princh, and the princh was the princh with the princh was the

Good Old Dirty Tricks?

Some Republicans last week seemed determined to equate the Watergate afdetermined to equate the Watergate affair with a tradition of political dirty tricks almost as old as the ballot box ittricks almost as old as the ballot box itself. Indeed, some nasty pranks have become depressingly commonplace over the type as the properties of the properties of the properties of the years—the stealing of candidates as stationery to sisue scurrilous letters or stationery to sisue scurrilous press releases, the use of embarrassing out-of-context photox.

Some of it is even funny. One saboteur recently turned loose a box of live cockroaches in Republican headquarters at Manhattan's Roosevelt Hotel. Lyndon Johnson aides reportedly poured itching powder down the backs of demonstrators carrying anti-L.B.J. signs at his rallies-forcing them to drop their boards and scratch. Democrat Leo Marshall, seeking a seat on Pennsylvania's New Castle County Council in 1966, was the victim of someone who sent a flatbed truck carrying a black band and black semi-nude go-go girls into a conservative white ethnic neighborhood, noisily urging his election. He lost.

The line most celebrated political pranakter in Dick Tuck, a longing marakter in Dick Tuck, a longing meal-fornia Democratic politician who has been unusually quiet this year. During Richard Nixon's 1962 campaign for Governor of California, Tuck donned congineer of a Nixon train to pull out. Nixon, speaking at the rear, was in mid-sentence as he saw his crowd suddenly begin to recede Tuck also filled some of Nixon's Chinese fortune cookies during the cookies during

But that kind of one-man activity is hardly in the Watergate's league. It is not the same as hiring former CIA agents to break into a party headquarters and install cavesdropping equipment. Nor is it the same as massing a huge fund to finance political spyring and disruption. Somewhere in the whole littical prankstering disappeared. Bring back Dick Tuck







WHITE HOUSE FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER HENRY KISSINGER

THE WAR/COVER STORY

At Last, the Shape of a Settlement

THE weary, bitter years of war in Viet Nam have all but exhausted the vocabulary of hope. So many corners turned, so many lights glimpsed at the end of tunnels, so many ritualistic negotiating sessions at the old Majestic Hotel in Paris, so many dead. Even the once secret sessions begun by Richard Nixon soon after he took office seemed to be inexorably changing from ventures of high drama and promise to mere suspense entertainment. But last week Henry Kissinger, the President's plenipotentiary for peace, was in Saigon on perhaps the most difficult and critical mission of his extraordinary career in diplomacy. He had in his briefcase an agreement in principle with North Viet Nam for the shape of a settlement, and his was the unenviable task of selling that settlement to South Vietnamese President Nguven Van Thieu, whose political demise will be an inevitable consequence of the package. However Thieu might balk, Viet Nam seemed closer to the brink of peace than it has been in a decade

The proposed settlement may have to be altered in some details during the negotiations with Thieu. But from South Vietnamese sources TIME obtained an outline of the Hanoi-Washington bargain that Kissinger brought from Paris. In essence it provides for an internationally supervised cease-fire, the formation of a new South Vietnamese government and elections for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution for South Viet Nam. To separate military from political matters it proposes three separate committees or bodies to implement a settlement, a process that might take many months to accomplish. What the White House wants, say the Saigon sources, is to be

able to announce an agreement "in principle" on the package before Election Day, though the first step of a ceasefire might not even be possible that soon. What the plan outlines on the military

and political fronts:

RINNO THE WAR. A cease-fire freezing all forces in South Viet Nam "inplace" and haling all military activity
—including the U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam and the mining of its harbors
—would be put into effect initially. Then negotiations would begin on the
final windrawal of all U.S. forces and
of war. Possibly the talks would eventually extend to the related wars in
Cambodia and Laos.

BUILDING A POLITICAL PEACE. Once the cease-fire was in effect direct negotiations would begin between the present Saigon government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (P.R.G.) maintained by the National Liberation Front in South Viet Nam. The two sides would work out the composition of a "caretaker government" that would succeed the Thieu regime and prepare the country for general elections to choose a constituent assembly. The assembly would draft a new constitution. a new round of elections would be held. and a new and presumably broad-based government that included Communists would take its place in Saigon

The plan proposes the following three bodies to carry out these efforts:

1) An expanded International Con-

trol Commission to supervise the ceasefire. The present LC.C., consisting of Canada, Poland and India, is a forlorn remnant that has been charged since 1954 with enforcing the Geneva Accords in Indochina. Other nations and considerable manpower would have to be added to the I.C.C. to enable it to monitor the cease-fire with any effectiveness.

2) A committee composed of Saigon government and P.R.G. representatives to take on the formidable task of organizing a caretaker government. In this government, the main political factions in South Viet Nam-Communist, neutralist and the Thieu government-would be represented, but not necessarily equally. Which groups would have how large a share in the caretaker government-and therefore to some extent in the elections and constitution that ensue from it-would be subject to negotiations between the representatives of the Saigon government and the P.R.G. on the committee. This provision meets Nixon's demands that he not have to participate in Thieu's downfall-because Thieu could stay in office until the committee set up the caretaker government-and that the South Vietnamese be responsible for working out their own political future.

3) A committee composed of all four parties to the war: the U.S. Hanoi, the Thieu government and the P.R.G. This group would work with the I.C.C. arbitrating who controlled what territory at the time of the cease-fire, negotiating the U.S. withdrawal and the release of the P.O.W.s and the other large, overall problems of ending combatin Viet Name.

The complex package had been worked out by Kissinger and Hanoi's Le Duc Tho in Paris apparently without Thieu's approval, and Kissinger's arrival in Saigon with the agreement spurred Thieu into a frenzy of defensive activity. Emerging from his near imperial isolation, he began reaching out for public support. He turned up at

THE NATION

a Saigon youth rally to rail against "henchmen of the Communists." He gave dinners for a variety of officials and legislators, some of them opposition figures he normally scorns—or jails. He ordered banners placed in Saigon bearing his contention that the Vietnamese people oppose a tripartite government.

The North Vietnames were active too One day last week North Vietnames ee envoys in Prague, Warsaw, Bucharets Belgrade, Budapest and East Berlin simultaneously requested audiences with the party leadners of the Eastern Jopean Communist nations, all of whom had been pressing Hanoi to make a set-tement. Presumably the East European Communist nations, all of whom the present the presentation of the present the presentation of the presentation of

There were other straws in the Indochinese winds too. The government of Laos began peace talks with the Communist Pathet Lao, and the Cambodian government suddenly requested that journalists refrain from using the word the U.S. delegation in Paris. General Creighton Abrams, the former U.S. commander in South Viet Nam, left Washington for Saignon on White House orders only hours after he had been installed as the new Army Chief of Staff at a Pentagon cremony. His mission, said the Pentagon lamely, was to check were U.S. Commander Frederick Wey-and and Ambasador Elisworth Bunker.

Some of the men on the American team, notably Abrams, were present because Thieu particularly trusts them, and a great deal of trust and more seems likely to be required before the South Vetnamese President will buy the proposals. In sum they directly violate or evidence of the violation of the south of the south of the south of the south of the violation of violat





KISSINGER ARRIVING & BEING GREETED BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE OFFICIALS IN SAIGON In his briefcase, a plan to end the fighting.

Communist in print, explaining that it would prefer them to use the more neutral terms North Vietnamese and Viet Cong.

But the main event was in Saigon, where each day Kissinger and Thieu sat down flanked by aides and officials. Sometimes Thieu was backed up by key advisers and members of his cabinet. Kissinger on his side of the table had an unprecedented array of Americans experienced in Vietnamese matters. William H. Sullivan, former Ambassador to Laos and now a top State Department man on East Asian and Pacific affairs, had flown in with Kissinger. From Seoul came Philip C. Habib, the U.S. Ambassador to South Korea, a hardnosed negotiator who had served both in the Saigon embassy and with any kind. Beyond all that, of course, they eventually doom his own leadership. Even the prospect of peace undercuts his position, which is almost entirely now supported by the army (see box, page 15).

Kissinger should be well equipped to press the U.S. case, since the plan bears his unmistakable craftsmanship. The provision for a caretaker government was foreshadowed in a 1969 easy gued that "a mixed commission to develop and supervise a political process to enitegrate the country—including free elections—could be useful." Students of the sounder of the country—including free elections—could be useful. Students of the sounder of the country—including free elections—could be useful. Students of the sounder of the country of

ternich, whom Kissinger analyzed in his Harvard doctoral thesis. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Metternich broke down the vast problems of establishing a post-Napoleonic European peace into their practical component parts and set up committees to resolve the smaller issues.

The Kissinger plan appears to be an extraordinarily dever arrangement. It deals subtly but directly with the over-riding issue of the war—the control of Saigon—while deftly sidestepping indicated understanding of the war (especially like any overthy work of diplomacy, contains substantial concessions by both Hanoi and Washington.

Treasure. The U.S. has apparently agreed in principle to the dismantling of what the Nixon Administration has maintained with blood and treasure as South Viet Nam's constitutional government and to back the writing of a new constitution with Communist participation. In the process, Thieu, whom Nixon promised never to abandon, would be forced to negotiate against great odds just to retain his position in the interim and must certainly lose it in the long run. Through the cease-fire "in place," the package would "reward aggression," as Nixon once put it, by ceding the Communists territory obtained by military means, which would be used by them to guarantee a place for themselves in any new government. Finally, the Administration has yielded the point that any new elections must be presidential ones, which would have worked to Thieu's advantage and the disadvantage of the Viet Cong, who control much land but few people. The U.S. could argue, however, that this is superseded by its position that the future government of South Viet Nam should be determined by concession and not by imposition. The proposed elections for a constituent assembly under a caretaker government might favor the Viet Cong by giving them a better chance to display the broad support

they claim to have. For its part, Hanoi has agreed to negotiate directly with the Thieu government while the South Vietnamese President is still in power, which it had said that it would never do. In fact, the Communists even seem willing to let Thieu remain in office until the caretaker government is formed, again a retreat. And they have agreed to forgo a strictly tripartite government with precisely onethird representation guaranteed them.

But it seems certain that, should Thieu still be around at that point, the constituent assembly would in effect simply write him out of power. Thus the plan would allow the Administration both to preserve a role for Thieu for a time and—after a decent interval —have him set aside and satisfy the fu-

ture political realities of Viet Nam.
Whether that would be perceived by
the U.S. public as an abandonment of

an of-repeated Administration commitment is unclear. Doubtless, the
White House is aware that with its protusion of committees and procedural
steps—not to mention the possibility
that negotiations between Saigon and
the P.R.G. on the caretaker government
could slog on for years—the plan would
make it tough for anyone to judge with
any certainty whether or not Nixon had
made good on his pledge not to "join
our enemy to overthrow our ally."

In the narrow sense at least he would have kept that vow. Whatever happened to Thieu and to the makeup

of the Saigon government—the complexities of Vietnamese life after so many years of war are such that few foresce any sudden Communist "takeover"—the Administration could argue that it had "imposed" nothing on the country, that it was all "up to the Vietnamese themselves."

What, in fact, are the chances for a cease-fire? As Kissinger flew into Saigon last week, State Department officials were quoting 80-20 odds against an announcement before the U.S. election. Kissinger has told friends with apparent sincerity that Nixon has never the saigneed of the sai

pressured him to speed up or slow down the pace of negotiations because of the election. In conversations, he has suggested that he personally expects events to unfold gradually.

Nonetheless, both sides were clearymaking preparations. During the crucial talks between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho in Paris two weeks ago, the White House began bombarding State and the Pentagon with urgent questions on the feasibility of policing an in-place ceasfice involving 200,000 North Vietnamese troops in South Viet Nam. According to U.S. intelligence in Saigon.

The Tough Man in the Tight Squeeze

Neury Nas Trittei is an easy man for ounderstar, and both the US and his South Vietnamese opponents have made that mistake. Bland in appearance, cautious by nature, reserved in public, he is not exactly the model of the charismatic leader of a small compaginat an implacable foe. Yet Thieu has demonstrated a knack for survival that has confounded his doubters. Not since Ngo Dinh Diem has a national leader been able to a total yin when the south of the charism of the c

He approaches his task with a mixture of cunning and circumspection. Until it looked as if the 1963 plot to overthrow Diem would succeed, he did not take sides. By skillful maneuvering, he managed to elbow saide the more flamboyant Nguyen Cao Ky and stand for President in 1967. Once thought to be the stronger of the pair, Ky never recovered from the humiliation. Last year Thieu arranged to run for re-election without any opposition whatsoever.

The prop of his power is the military, pure and simple. By an adroit system of promoting and demoting, of granting favors and withholding them, Thieu has built up an apparatus that is loval to him. In the process, he has not made the best appointments from a strictly military point of view. His generals have been slow to take the offensive and not very imaginative in battle. He has had to fire two out of four Military Region commanders, and a division commander has been charged with treason. Beyond that, the army and much of the rest of the government has been riddled with debilitating corruption. Thieu himself remains untainted. but his customary caution has kept him from acting decisively

In one area, he did, though. He foresaw almost two years ago the moment that finally arrived last week, and he systematically and shrewdly prepared for it by adding to his powers. More recently, he has moved even more vigorously. After the North invaded last spring, he went before the National Assembly to ask for virtually dictatorial powers for six months. The Assembly initially balked, but eventually Thieu got his way. As dictators go, he has proved to be relatively mild, though he

is known as "isolation palace," and he seems to be content to stay there. He leads a quiet home life with his Roman Catholic wife; though Thieu was brought up a Confucian Buddhist, he converted to Catholicism a few years after his marriage. He is the son of a farmer and fisherman.

To judge by his public utterances, he remains an unyielding anti-Commu-



THIEU WITH CABINET MINISTERS IN HIS DOWNTOWN SAIGON PALACE

has shut down all but a few of the vociferous opposition newspapers and thrown thousands of his political opponents into jail, many without benefit of trial. In August he also put an end to local elections; from then on, officials of hamlets and villages would be appointed with Saigon's approval.

The reason for the clampdown is that Thieu needs all the power he can muster in order to deal, on the one hand, with the Communists and on the other, with the U.S. His power—a chief complaint against him—does not lie with the people at large. He rarely ventures out to give a public speech or shake a hand, though he has made many recent visits to the battlefield. He remains a very private person for a public figure.

nist. He recently remarked: "We have to kill the Communists to the last man before we have peace." Whether he believes that or not, he acts as if he does. "He is extremely conscious of his survival," says an American who has observed him close at hand. "Yet he has a flexible mind. The pattern of his behavior is to be ahead of us on most issues involved in the negotiations."

Yet Thieu knows as well as anybody that his survival rests ultimately with the U.S. Like Diem before him, he could be removed if the U.S. so decreed. Since the Kissinger plan does, indeed, ultimately and inherently decree that, the real question is the manner of his going —with dignity or defiance, restraint or rebellion. The man of caution is being tested as never before.

THE NATION

Communist units have already received orders to extend their control of South Vietnamese territory wherever possible in anticipation of a cease-fire. At least three North Vietnamese divisions have slipped into positions in the jungles just north of Saigon, which have recently been pounded by heavy B-52 raids. Only last week Communist troops on obvious "flag-planting" missions captured five hamlets in the Pleiku region. Saigon's troops are in control of all of the country's 44 provincial capitals and roughly 90% of South Viet Nam's 17 million people. But they have not been able to dislodge Communist forces from much of the territory they seized in the Easter offensive. All told, the Communists dominate South Viet Nam's sparsely populated eight northern provinces, including the Central Highlands and several districts in the populous, once secure Mekong Delta south of

Long Way. With the fighting war once again at a standoff, however temporary it may be, conditions seem possible for the agreement that has so long eluded Richard Nixon and his foreign policy adviser. It may always be a matter of debate whether the Nixon Administration "missed a chance" following the bombing halt of 1968 to settle the war on terms not very different from those that it appears to be negotiating now. There will always be those Americans who will defend his holding out for an "honorable" settlement and those who contend that the Administration's "dual-track" strategy of Vietnamization and negotiations was the long way out

Kissinger argues fairly persuasively that at least part of the blame for the drawn-out negotiations must be laid to the style and temperament of the U.S.'s adversaries. As a Johnson Administration adviser in the 1960s, Kissinger was a keen student of the Vietnamese negotiating style. In his remarkably prescient Foreign Affairs article, Kissinger noted "the peculiar negotiating style of Hanoi: the careful planning, the subtle, indirect methods, the preference for opaque communications which keep open as many options as possible North Vietnamese diplomacy, he observed, operated in somewhat baffling "cycles of reconnaissance and with drawal." Even if the U.S. accepted all of Hanoi's demands, Kissinger wrote, "the result might well be months of haggling while Hanoi looked for our 'angle' and made sure that no other concessions were likely to be forthcoming.

Kissinger is known to believe that the long deadlock was caused, too, by the U.S. style of negotiations before he took over. There was, he has said, too much concern with tactics and not enough "feeling for nuance and for intangibles." Kissinger's own style has been to set aside the detailed questions as much as he can and try to create "a process of evolution that will give the North Vietnamese an option on the future." At the bargaining table, Kissinger has tried to channel the talks to the purely military questions of cease-fire and troop withdrawals, avoiding the emotional issue of the internal structure of South Viet Nam for as long as nossible

If Kissinger's new style impressed the North Vietnamese, however, they did not show it. Since August 1969 when Kissinger slipped off to Paris for the first of the 19 secret sessions he had with Le Duc Tho, the talks until recently had essentially been at an impasse. To be sure, there were occasional indications of "progress." But U.S. ceasefire proposals always looked to the Communists like a strategem to stop the fighting while retaining Thieu in power, and the Communist multipoint proposals always contained a political solution that would topple Thieu. As Kissinger complained last January, when Nixon publicly revealed the existence of the secret talks and their impasse, the North Vietnamese were asking that the U.S. "overthrow the people that have been counting on us.

Rattled. Why have the North Vietnamese decided to negotiate now? It is possible that Hanoi merely finds it advantageous to be seen dealing unilaterally with the U.S. on the theory that it is a cheap way to generate uncertainty in Saigon and thus weaken Thieu's hold on South Viet Nam. But without elaborating, Kissinger had been saying privately all summer that he expected serious bargaining to begin this fall. One element surely is the fact that Hanoi has been under at least some pressure to settle from Moscow and Peking, who are anxious to expand their new relationships with the U.S. Though it rattled Saigon for a while and gave Washington a scare, the Easter offensive not only ended in a standoff but also gave the Administration the excuse and public support to resume full-scale bombing of North Viet Nam and mine the harbors. Though foreigners who have visited Hanoi would argue to the contrary, the Administration seems convinced that the overwhelming U.S. air war-which has been dumping explosives on the North at the rate of two tons every minute-has begun to weak-

en North Vietnamese resolve Clearly, the U.S. election has played a powerful role-on both sides. During his two-day session with Le Duc Tho in Paris last August, Kissinger pressed the argument that Hanoi would do well to settle along the lines of Nixon's May 8 plan. That called for a cease-fire inplace throughout Indochina, and a withdrawal of U.S. troops within four months after release of American P.O.W.s, leaving the political issues to be settled by the Vietnamese themselves. If Nixon were to win a second term, Kissinger argued, the Administration offer could well harden. In September, by the reckoning of intelligence analysts in Washington, the polls began to convince the Hanoi Politburo that a victory by McGovern, who has proposed that the U.S. should "break free of Thieu" with a unilateral withdrawal, was a poor gamble.

Nixon too must pay attention to the tricky politics of peace. According to Pollster Daniel Yankelovich, Viet Nam is "the key" to Nixon's commanding lead over McGovern. But the U.S. public's conviction that Nixon is better able to handle the war might change dramatically if the Administration were to run into big trouble in Paris-or, more accurately, in Saigon. As the White House well knows, an obstreperous ally in Saigon refusing to accept the Kissinger-designed settlement might raise new doubts in the minds of the U.S.





electorate about the Administration's course in Viet Nam. More likely, though, given the U.S. desire to get out of the war, a rebellious Thieu seen as sabotaging peace might simply rally Americans to the President's side, enabling him to liquidate U.S. involvement without any fear of recrimination at home. Still for Nixon to abandon Saigon would be tantamount to declaring his Viet Nam policy to have been an utter failure

But what would Thieu do? The silence of the U.S. embassy and the presidential palace only deepened the mystery. Saigonese pored over the abbreviated accounts of the talks that were in the tightly controlled press. Rumors flew of an impending coup, of an imminent shakeup of the South Vietnamese army. A report that the government had placed a rush order for 2,500,000 vards of bunting with a Saigon cloth merchant sparked speculation that the rumored cease-fire might really be at

Even in cynical Saigon, Vietnamese reacted strongly-and somewhat surprisingly-to the image of Thieu at bay Nguyen Van Huyen, the president of the South Vietnamese Senate and an occasional critic of Thieu, openly declared his hope that "he will remain in power to keep stability." Huyen added: "I don't say the U.S. is deserting us, but something very disquieting is happening." TIME Bureau Chief Stanley Cloud cabled: "For the first time in his political career. Thieu has become a truly sympathetic character. Even his opponents have expressed support for him as he apparently attempts to resist American pressures and plug the holes in the badly leaking boat of his presidency. The Vietnamese have a highly developed sense of pride, and if it seems to them that the Americans are attempting at this late date to abandon them, they could easily unite as never before behind an anti-Americanism far more virulent than any anti-Communism they ever felt

Levers. No one in Washington or Saigon doubted that the Administration would find it difficult to bulldoze the tough and resourceful general whom Richard Nixon once called "one of the four or five greatest politicians in the world." Yet in his duel with the Administration. Thieu had few real options. Thieu was considering a strategem under which he would simply ignore Paris and unilaterally propose to resign and turn power over to a six-man "gov ernment committee" that would hold months. Thieu would claim to have met the Communist demand for his resignation-and then run for re-election. The catch is that if Thieu were to let go of the levers of power, even for a short time, he might not be able to find them again. But if he were to keep them, the Communists would have no chance in the elections and the struggle would resume.

WELCOME HOME SOLDIER







SOUTH VIETNAMESE MARINE After so many years, it was all up to the Vietnamese themselves.

More simply, Thieu could threaten to embarrass Nixon by loudly rejecting the Kissinger plan and vowing to carry on the fight against the Communists alone. The Administration might find it difficult politically to cut off U.S. aid to Saigon under those circumstances. But it could effectively counter by threatening to negotiate a bilateral, separate peace with Hanoi-a possibility that worries many South Vietnamese.

At week's end, the great Saigon tug of war spilled into a fourth day with no announced end to the maneuvering, while Kissinger flew off, apparently to Cambodia, for additional parleys. The word was out that Thieu had reluctantly agreed on at least one part of the plan: the cease-fire. But he was also said to be digging in against other key provisions of the Kissinger agreement that the Communists certainly regard as vital. Thieu was reportedly unhappy about the caretaker-government provision and adamantly opposed to any basic change in the present constitution that might open the way to the entry of a significant number of Communists into the country's political life. As a counteroffer, he proposed to recognize certain areas of the country as "under Communist control" and to allow them representation in the existing National Assembly on the basis of population. The Communists are almost certain to balk at that, for they would be hard put to demonstrate military control over more than 10% of the population

Even if the Kissinger proposal eventually emerges in some form as the outline of a settlement, many problems would remain. A cease-fire alone would be devilishly difficult to manage even in a land that had not been at war for a quarter-century. The fact that several weeks would pass between the time a cease-fire was announced and the time the machinery to implement it could be smoothly functioning would mean that what is mildly known as "regroupment" could be a serious problem. Communist forces located in isolated "oil spots" would try to expand and link up with Communists in other areas, and Saigon's troops would try to blot them out altogether

Scent. Seemingly there would be no end to the details that would have to be worked out if the shooting were to be stopped. South Viet Nam's joint general staff was unhappily puzzling last week over one of the smaller ones; an American plan for the demobilization -following a cease-fire-of half of the country's armed forces, including seven of its eleven infantry divisions. Other problems will prove more complex, among them the dismantling of the assassination squads maintained by the Viet Cong and by the Saigon government under its Phoenix program.

If the Kissinger approach has any validity at all, however, the lesser issues should fall into place once the big problems are settled. Those big problems of peace in Indochina have not been resolved-at least not vet-by any means. but Kissinger's idea is catching on quickly. As Cloud reported from Saigon last week, "the tantalizing scent of peace is in the air for the first time in years. To the South Vietnamese the political questions are secondary-at least for the moment-to the almost unbearable temptation to hope for the best. Such hopes do not come easily to the Vietnamese after 26 years of war. Once they are fully entertained, they could become overwhelming political reality Those hopes could be dashed again-in Saigon, Washington or Hanoi -as they have been in the past. But this time it would be a disappointment of tragic proportions.

Denials and Still More Questions

THE issue of political espionage in the 1972 presidential campaign has persisted-a tangled, melodramatic business, occurring like a backstage fistfight. somewhere still in the margins of the voters' consciousness. The matter remained a volatile presence, however, and last week the din of charges and countercharges grew louder as Republicans and Democrats exchanged bitter words over the implications of the Watergate investigation. Without challenging a single point of reported fact, the President's men denied any wrongdoing and attacked the press for printing the stories. Even so, there were new revelations of White House connections with a fat slush fund used to finance political spying

Tist! has learned that still another figure who held an important White House position before moving to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President played a key role in the Variety of the Resident played a key role in the Variety of the Resident played a key role in the Variety of the State of the Variety of

Herb Klein, Nixon's Director of Communications—giving Magruder about two years on the White House staff. It was known earlier that the cash used to finance the wiretapping at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate last June came partment files now show that Magruder was the C.R.P. official who authorized the expenditures.

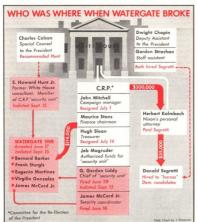
According to Justice Department attorneys, Magruder gave his approval for the use of up to \$250,000 to be spent on what the attorneys called "political intelligence operations." It is not known whether that entire amount was spent, but at least \$50,000 was withdrawn for this purpose out of a secret fund of pos-sibly \$700,000 in cash kept in the office of Maurice Stans, former Secretary of Commerce and now finance chairman of the Nixon committee. Justice Department officials told TIME that Magruder hired another former White House aide. G. Gordon Liddy, to head the political intelligence squad for the committee. Liddy, who has been indicted in the Watergate case, was authorized by Magruder to spend the \$250,000. The actual payments were made to Liddy by the committee's treasurer at the time, Hugh Sloan, a Notook the cash from Stans' safe. Sloan, a Republican fund raiser beginning in 1966, was a staff assistant to the President before joining C.R.P.

The only record of these disbursements from the secret fund was kept by Slean on a single sheet of lined yellow paper. It was destroyed by a top C.R.P. official. Other relevant papers, Justice of Speartment officials said, were destroyed by Liddy within hours after the yellow predawn arrests at the Watergate. He sused a paper shredder in the C.R.P. offices for about 30 minutes that morning.

Magruder, a Santa Monica, Calif., business executive who coordinated Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign in the Los Angeles area, told the Justice Department that he thought the intelligence money was to be used to get information about radicals and antiwar protesters who might try to disrupt the Republican National Convention, He denied authorizing any funds for illegal purposes. A certain conspiratorial mood among the White House staff is illustrated by one of Magruder's former assignments there. He moved from Haldeman's staff to Klein's, TIME has learned, to watch Klein for Haldeman, who has a habit of keeping a sharp eye on the activities of staff members.

Scattered. Some of the men who were in various positions on the committee when the Watergate case broke on June 17 have since scattered (see chart). Liddy was fired from the committee on June 28 when he refused to answer FBI questions. Sloan left the committee shortly after the Watergate break-in. John Mitchell, the former Attorney General, was head of the Nixon committee at the time but quit on July 1. ostensibly because his wife Martha wanted to get him out of politics. So far unexplained is the mystery surrounding Martha Mitchell's claim that only five days after the Watergate arrests, Steve King, now head of security for the Nixon committee, ripped a telephone off the wall of a Newport Beach, Calif., motel room where she and her husband were staying, threw her on a bed and held her while a doctor gave her an injection. She was cut badly enough on the hand in this fracas, the Washington Post reported last week, to require hospital emergency room treatment. The man who took her there, said the Post, was Nixon's personal attorney. Herbert Kalmbach.

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THE NATION

the secret fund in Stans' safe. This information was based on statements made by both Segretti and Kalmbach to FBI agents.

Later, last week, the New York Times reported that a telephone in Segretti's home was used to make 28 calls to Chapin's home, the White House or the office of the indicted Hunt. The Washington Post reported that only five people had authority to approve payments from the Stans fund: Stans. Kalmbach, Magruder, Mitchell and an unidentified "high White House official." The Post also claimed that White House aides had coached Segretti on what to say to the Watergate grand jury and that when he appeared before the jury, the U.S. attorneys who were prosecuting the case did not even ask whom he worked for. A woman juror did, however, and Segretti named Chapin.

Innuendo. It is still not clear what Segretti's specific duties were, or just how unusual his campaign against Democratic candidates was; but the words "disruption" and "harass" were used by Segretti in talking to the Justice Department. The Nixon committee responded to the disclosures with a denial that anyone "in authority" had "authorized or approved or had any prior knowledge of the break-in at the Watergate or any other illegal activities." At the White House, Speechwriter Pat Buchanan claimed that the news stories were politically motivated, "We're not gonna play that game," he said Presidential Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler denied that anyone at the White House had "directed acts of sabotage, spying or espionage" against the Democrats and charged that the stories were based on "hearsay, character assassination, innuendo and guilt by association." Clark MacGregor, Nixon's campaign director, angrily denounced the Post in particular for using "huge scare headlines" and acting "maliciously" and with "hypocrisy" to link the White House to such political espionage. Uncharacteristically, the usually candid MacGregor did not allow newsmen to question him. Senator Robert Dole, the Republican National Chairman, accused McGovern and the Post of being "in a partnership in mudslinging.

Acting Fill Director L. Patrick Gray was also incensed at the press, apparently because of reports that his agency had moved slowly and narrowly on the political sabotage investigations. The press wants to hear that I'm a political son of a bitch. he protested to TIME Correspondern Sandy Smith. I'm SIME CORPS of the Protected to the President exhibits of the protect of the prote

In taking the offensive, MacGregor also charged that publications had a "double standard" in not pursuing acts of political sabotage against the Republicans. He claimed that McGovern workers have planted spies within the



"...halt the erosion of moral fiber in American life and the denial of individual accountability for individual action."

Nixon campaign and had even done so within Hubert Humphrey's staffs during the Democratic primary campaigns. He cited what he called examples of "proven facts of oppositionincited disruptions of the President's campaign." They included the discovery of a Molotoy cocktail at one Nixon headquarters, fire damage at two others and window breaking at Nixon storefront campaign offices in three cities. The Post checked out each incident, found widespread violence against Nixon campaign offices in the nation but no evidence that McGovern's committees were involved in them. On the other hand, when various Democratic candidates reported acts of sabotage, there was often no evidence that these deeds had any connection with

The charges against the Nixon committee—the substance of which has not yet been specifically denied—are serious, even though the activity looks

inane and unnecessary. The kindest explanation is that Nixon is surrounded by overzealous aides who feel that they are expected to do everything possible to assure his decisive re-election. With his mentality, anything that seems to help or protect the President appears proper to them, even though in this case it can only damage Nixon. Up to Ears. As the controversy

grew, George McGovern pounded away at the issue on nearly every stop, employing often shrill and exaggerated oratory. At a labor rally in Essington. Pa., he charged that Nixon is "the kind of man who will not hesitate to try to wiretap your union hall or your university or your church or your home." He told airport crowds in Toledo that the Republicans had wiretapped the telephones of the Democratic presidential candidates in the primaries "and they had us followed and members of our families followed all the time. Nixon is up to his ears in political sabotage. He has got to take responsibility for it

That was, of course, making a long leap-from acts of still rather vague political dirty work by political underlings to placing direct responsibility on Nixon. Yet McGovern did have a point in contending in Detroit that the Watergate and the secret G.O.P. spying fund were much more serious matters than more celebrated scandals like the disclosures that Harry Vaughan, an inside operator in the Truman Administration, had accepted a Deepfreeze from a lobbyist and that President Eisenhower's closest aide. Sherman Adams, had received a vicuña coat and a rug. Asked why there was no uproar now over the Republican activities, McGovern replied: "Life is a struggle between our better impulses and more selfish, baser instincts. No one ever knows how that struggle will resolve itself. We can only hope that the American people do care." Trying to get them to care, Mc-Govern has scheduled a national television broadcast this week on "Morality and Decency in Government."



NIXON COMMITTEE'S MAGRUDER No denials of fact.

God May Be a Democrat: But the Vote Is for Nixon

RARE is the wedding, funeral, confirmation, ordination, commencement or polka party that is not attended by Cleveland's Republican Mayor Ralph Perk, a third-generation Czech. He presides over a city of some 65 different nationalities, and he is deferential, in turn, to every one. His finance director is a second-generation Slovak, his utilities director a naturalized Lithuanian. The city properties director is of Polish stock, and the head of human resources happens to have a family tree rooted firmly in the Ukraine. At a recent Serbian picnic, Perk appealed to the picknickers' keen sense of loyalty. adopted me as a son of the Serbs," he told them, "and when you took me in you adopted my whole family. Some of my sons are running for office. Please don't forget them. They're good people.

Switch. Perk is teaching a generation of office seekers how to play ethnic politics. It was supposed to be an old-fashioned game snubbed by practitioners of the New Politics. But this election year it is more in style-and more necessary for candidates-than ever. The ethnics, hitherto relatively quiet and complacent and predictably Democratic, are now organizing and rebelling and preparing to vote for Nixon in massive numbers. The switch in the ethnic vote is among the most striking phenomena of the campaign and is, of course, an important element in labor's defection from the Democrats, since much of the trade union movement is still the preserve of ethnic workers

from Eastern Europe and Italy (the Irish have been assimilated enough so that most other ethnics would tend to exclude them from the classification). The symptom of today's ethnicity is a display of pride and belligerence along with a sense of grievance and loss: ethnics are just not as happy as they used to be. They came full of hope to their adopted land; without forfeiting their heritage or giving up all their life-styles. they wanted to assimilate, the sooner the better. Says Geno Baroni, director of the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs in Washington, D.C.: "We thought the way to become real Americans was to be more patriotic-be better Americans than anyone else. We flocked to American Legion oratorical contests and gave speeches on the flag and the Constitution. And we had to prove something. We had to march, [like] the Italians on Columbus Day. We never realized that the WASPs never marched. Every day was their day.

Now the values of the ethnics are under assault, the institutions they cherish—church, family, labor union —under a cloud. They have watched helplessly as the more affluent whites have fled the cities and the poor blacks have taken their place. They feel squeezed between a group that is deserting them and making them bear the brunt of social change and a group that is threatening their schools, neighborhoods and jobs. The combined recession and inflation has hit them hard. Says Baroni: "The ethnic worries how he is going to get the money to send his kid to Penn State and pay for his mothcar." The ethnics feel left out and looked down upon, confused and angry. In undergoing their own particular brand of consciousness raising, they are

rediscovering their roots.

Suddenly it has become respectable in fact desirable—to display an ethnic background. It offers an escape from current insecurity and uncertainty, a return to something fixed and firm. It is also part of the contemporary retreat from the notion of the American melting pot. The phenomenon poses-as it does in the case of blacks. Chicanos and Jews-the question of whether the proliferation of a lot of self-absorbed, selfcontained communities is any improvement over the concept of a common citizenry. Along with the release of pride and energy, the ethnic movement has given rise to a certain insularity and

Cares. No one has been more attentive to this trend than Richard Nixon. who has played on the ethnics' discontent. In speech after speech, he has ex-tolled their place in U.S. society-most recently at the base of the Statue of Liberty, where he told ethnics, holding placards and flags to make original national identities known to TV audiences, that they built America with their spirit and enterprise. By championing the work ethic and denouncing welfare, by opposing abortion and supporting aid to parochial schools, the President has reaffirmed their values. In smaller ways, too, he has shown that he cares. On his way back from the Moscow summit, he stopped off in Warsaw-a gesture that endeared him to American Poles. At an Italian-American festival in Maryland in September, he declared: "Every time I'm at an Italian-American picnic, I

think I have some Italian blood The Republican campaign for the ethnic vote never sleeps. At the Heritage Groups division in Washington. dedicated ethnics keep in contact with 32 nationalities round the country. A G.O.P. nationalities newsletter reports on all ethnic activities, applauds their accomplishments and notes the appointment of every ethnic to a federal post, however obscure. Regional offices are equipped with computer print-outs that list the name of every voter in a national group. The voter is called by a fellow ethnic who first tries the native tongue. If the voter responds, fine. If

not, the caller switches to English. The voter is asked if he favors Nixon. If he says no, he is not called again. If he says yes or maybe, he is the target of more attention. He is asked what issues concern him. That information is then fed into a computer and a letter is sent to the voter explaining how Nixon stands on the issues.

Nothing so elaborate has been undertaken by the Democrats. The ethnic division of the Democratic National Committee was even disbanded after the convention, then hastily put











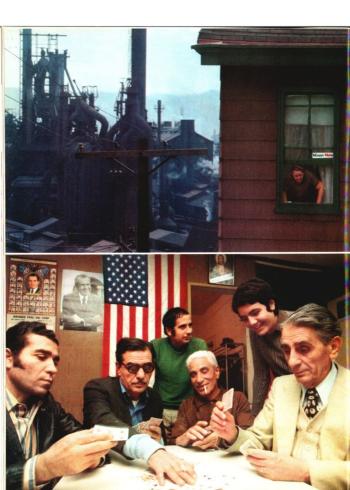
LISH-AMERICANS

WOOING THE ETHNICS. Clockwise: Girls of Polish, German, Italian and Ultrainian descent with Polish, German, Italian and Ultrainian descent with Polish Comment of Co. Pr. ofly in Grand Rapids, Latvian chorus at G. O.P. ofly in Grand Rapids, Hispanic Day parade in New York City, Pulaski Day participant in Buffalo, McGovern supporter in heavily Polish Hamtramck, Mich., McGovern in theovily Polish Hamtramck, Mich., McGovern in Columbus Day parade, New York City.









together again when it became apparaent what the Republicans were doing. With a budget of only \$50,000, another quarters sends out periodic mailings and leaves the main canvassing job to the asta ecoordinators. Nor is the candidate as sure-footed among ethnics as Nixitation of the control of the control is a sure-footed among ethnics as Nixitation to control in supporters at the Columbus Day Parade in New York (IV, Chanting "We want George" they held up the festivities for 15 minutes, the held up the festivities for 15 minutes, the is Italian-American participants.

Power, Sometimes McGovern has said too little to the ethnics, sometimes too much. After criticizing quotas as unfair to ethnics, he pledged that he would provide jobs for nationalities in reasonable proportion to their numbers in the population. "You've got to remember that never have we had a Polish American on the U.S. Supreme Court," he declared. "Never have we had an Italo-American on the Supreme Court. We've never had a Greek American." Last week at the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Dinner in Manhattan, McGovern pointed up his problem with ethnics to his largely Catholic audience: "I feel a little like Al Smith addressing the Baptist

league of Eastern Texas. His running mate Sargent Shriver is more at home with ethnics. They, in fact, constitute a significant part of his overall job in this campaign, which is to lure home the prodigal Democrats. Last week in a Catholic high school in Union County, N.J., he was greeted with cheers and whistles, though the student body prefers Nixon. Shriver's hyperbolic rhetoric goes over well in union halls: Nixon is a man obsessed with power. What he cares about is money and military power, bucks and bombs," But it is an uphill battle. At the Polish-American Congress convention in Detroit this month, Shriver offered what he called a seven-point "Ethnic Magna Carta, but he received much less applause than Spiro Agnew, who simply reminded the audience how close the President felt to them. Agnew and Nixon received another kind of ethnic compliment in Chicago when Frank Sinatra once again emerged from retirement. Changing the lyrics of The Lady Is a Tramp, Sinatra crooned to a crowd of 4,900

> They're both unique—the Quaker, the Greek They make this Italian want to whistle and stamp, Because each gentleman is a champ,

Ethnics are leaving the Democrats this election because they feel the party does not want them, and for a while that seemed to be the case. Those who seized command of the party in Miami Beach believed that McGovern could win with a combination of youth, minorities and aroused liberals and suburbanites. But the mathematics were faulty. If the Irish are not counted, there are only 14 million first- and secondgeneration ethnics in America. But the number swells to around 40 million if all the descendants of ethnics are included-and indeed, many of these continue to think of themselves as hyphenated Americans. They feel they are treated with condescension or disdain by people who happen to be better off than they are. Observes Tom Foran, prosecutor of the Chicago Seven: "They watched the Democratic Convention and saw all those people running it who never had a callus in their life.'

The ethnics particularly resent their role with regard to blacks. Though the affluent liberals who lecture them have moved out to the safety of the suburbs, the ethnics are expected to accept integration of their schools and neighborhoods without a murmur. As a liberal Democrat who supports McGovern Democrat who supports McGovern crask in a way, and Agnew's charge is valid. We say to the blacks. We want you to be with us on the basis of your self-interest, and we say to the white working people. "We want you to vote for us on the basis of moral!"

ought to do more to help poor people."

Darlings. Chicago's Father Paul Asciolla agrees: "The blacks became the darlings of the 60s, and the ethnics the niggers of the North. They fearned the niggers of the North. They fearned the niggers of the North. They fearned the niggers of the North. They the results in a game where the rules are changing. They were just about to cross the goal line with the football when they were tapped on the shoulder and fold to give the ball to a black to carry over. They where you far they were they have they were they have been they were they have been t

Somewhat better off than blacks but not all that much, the white ethnics are particularly outraged by welfare. A Polish bartender in Baltimore puts it harshly: "The blacks get welfare and we get highways built through us, and we pay for both." In Newark, where blacks outnumber whites and control city hall, the Italians who remain in the North Ward grimly refer to themselves as "white nig-Any of their brethren who are too compliant are called "Uncle Ma-rios" who "think black." The whites complain that they are deliberately cut out of federal programs, which are aimed almost exclusively at blacks Their quarrel is not so much with blacks themselves as with the white liberals who promote this state of affairs. As Stephen Adubato, director of the Italian American North Ward Educational and Cultural Center cynically puts it: "I am sure in a few years a famous conductor will throw a party for us too, and then everybody will understand." The ethnics are down on McGov-

ern, who sums up for them everything that is wrong with the Democratic Party. From their point of view, he made his first critical mistake when he permitted Mayor Daley's delegation to be thrown out of the Democratic Convention. If the liberals thought that the boss had got a well-deserved comeuppance, the ethnics only noticed that a delegation of democratically elected Poles. Czechs, Italians and others had been rejected. McGovern's manner is also not reassuring. Says Barbara Mikulski, a Polish councilwoman in Baltimore who is working for McGovern: "He comes on like a soft-spoken preacher from South Dakota. That style is hard to comprehend in a working-class neighborhood." An aide to Mayor Daley elaborates: "McGovern is the kind of guy who doesn't sweat. No one is more difficult for an Irish Catholic to get along with than one of the nonsweating Methodists." The ethnics want a candidate who, it seems, shares their sweat and is not put off by it.

Wounds. But their voting for Richard Nixon does not mean that the ethnics will become a permanent part of the Republican Party. Father Andrew Greeley, director of the Center for the Study of American Pluralism in Chicago, feels that the ethnics have not forsworn their political heritage. On bread-and-butter issues such as better schools, housing and health services they tend to be for liberal programs, but they insist on getting their fair share. The right candidate could bring the ethnics back to the party in 1976, Greeley thinks. "Can one imagine a Kennedy convention from which labor, the Catholic ethnics and the professional politicians would have been excluded? The 'new' political forces would have been there too. Most of the campaign would not have to have been devoted to binding wounds, since there wouldn't have been any wounds in the first place.

The Republicans, however, will doubtless try to make permanent converts of their new allies. Much depends on how they are received by the party of the WASP and big business. Will they be courted in the campaign only to be thrown over after the election? Or will they add new yeast to the rather settled G.O.P.? Says Pat Moynihan: "Ethnic elements bring their politics to their new party. They often change the party more than they change themselves." By helping Nixon get re-elected, the ethnics can possibly turn more of his attention and energy to the plight of the cities, which the President has neglected in the past perhaps because he had no constituency there. It is paradoxical that those who are among the most fervent remaining champions of traditional American values—respect for established behavior, loyalty to institutions should be found in what was once considered the source of all alien and subversive activities: the big city. By lending a helping hand to the ethnics, the President could also begin a renewal of the stagnating cities, in which today's ethnic feels so miserably trapped.

A Nixon supporter in the Polish section of Pittsburgh. A card game in an Italian social club in Brooklyn.

TOP: EDDIE ADAMS: BOTTOM: HALSTEAD











CHAPLES SAGE

TIME Citizens' Panel

A Few Kind Words for McGovern

Groups McGovern may not be
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Nixon at the moment, but he could be
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JOHN COLLINS

el, conducted by Daniel Yankelovich, ne, over the telephone during the first ten days of October, suggests a softness among some hixon supporters. The 122 panelists, chosen at random from a scisistered voters in 16 key states, say they are for Nixon nearly 2 to 1. Yet they are for Nixon nearly 2 to 1. Yet they are for Nixon nearly 2 to 1. Yet they are piti down the middle on what kind of President McGovern would make during the state of the state of the same number believe he would be a same number believe he would be a poor President, and 2 out of 10 have not made up their mind. A number of Nixon supporters find.

kind words for McGovern. John Wright, traffic manager for General notes that McGovern "is a pretty good Senator. He'd end the war-maybe not the best way, but he'd end it." Sullivan, a retired Independent for Nixon from San Diego, Calif., says: "He'd make a good President. He'd try to do what's right. He'd bring the young and the older generations closer in their way of looking at things." Another Indepen-dent for Nixon, Harold Jones, a welder from Rockford, Ill., adds: "McGovern sounds like he means what he says. No hanky-panky." Douglas Peterson, a Republican art educator from Highland Park, Mich., admits: "McGovern's campaign stuff is pretty good. I'm wavering. At first I was for Nixon. Now I'm considering.

In-depth interviews with the TIME panelists reveal, however, that McGovern is still hurting from a "wishy-washy" image. John Collins, a Republican tele-

phone-company engineer from Livingston, N.J. chose the word swivel-necked to describe the Democratic challenger. He finds out that the public describ Collins. Asked what would worry her about McGowern as President, Virginia Brock, a Martinsville, Va, schoolteacher and Republicant for Mozon Challenger and Republicant for Mozon Challenger to the Challenger of the Challenger of the taint of radicalism continues to haunt the Democratic challenger. Ronald Baker, an Artington, Texas, helicopter the Challenger of the Challenger of the Challenger of the McGrowern '30 vera sheet of himself.

his goods right now."
The panelists who support McGovern reject the charge of radicalism, and cite their candidate's honesty, his support of civil rights and his concern for the poorer classes. Beulah Stepp, an Independent who works with retarded children in Detroit. says McGovern "sin't being radical: he's being an honest politician, which is hard to find these days." Joseph Turner, a Democratic sewing-machine repairman from Rosewing-machine repairman from Rosewing-machine

The country is too conservative to buy

THE CONGRESS

More Sad Than Bad

At the beginning of the 92nd Congress, Richard Nixon welcomed the legislators with hyperbole. They had, he said in his 1971 State of the Union address, "a chance to be recorded as the greatest Congress in America's history," He then recited the "six great goals" that underpinned his "new American revolution." Said the President: "If we are bothly—If we seeze this moment and achieve these goals—we can close the in American Convernment, and bring tiogether the resources of the nation and the spirit of the people."

When the 92nd Congress finally adlourned last week, the gap between performance and promise yawned wide enough to engulf not only the lawmakers but the President as well. Of Nixon's six goals, only one had passed as requested, his landmark revenue-sharvate and local governments over five years. Two others, the reorganization of the Federal Government and the creation of a national health-insurance program, never even made it to the floor of either the House or Senate. A fourth, welfare reform, was killed three weeks ago, largely because of Nixon's reluctance to fight for if (TIME, Oct. 16). The major legislation on his two remaining priority goals—a call for environmental cleanup and a plea to Congress' too-operate in resisting expenditures'—did not come to a showdown until the Congress' lated the congress' lated by the congress' lated and dramatic confrontation between the Administration and Capitol

This summer, the Administration proposed and helped draft legislation that would clamp a \$250 billion ceiling on spending and grant Nixon wide latitude in making the necessary cuts to meet that limit. In part, Nixon was motivated by a genuine desire to rein in runaway expenditures. But he was also seeking grounds for castigating the Democratic Congress as a fraternity of high spenders, setting it up as the scapegoat for what seems to be an inevitable tax increase next year. He also hoped to obscure the fact that his Administration had set spending records in spite of his self-proclaimed conversion to Keynes. Congress sensed the trap, but many members regarded the President's proposal as a domestic version of the

blank-check Gulf of Tonkin resolution, one that could only result in further reducing the legislative branch's already badly eroded constitutional powers. Refusing to part with, or even pare Congress's preregative to determine appropriations, a coalition of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans handily defeated the measure in the Senate.

The White House was neatly praced for that contingency. Well in advance, Nixon had determined to trade bill for bill; when Congress rejected his spending ceiling, he quickly retaliated by veloting a major congressional measure sitting on his desk—a water politone-control bill that would provide into the control of waste-treatment plants (see ENVIRONMENT).

But the water bill happened to be one of Congress's legislative showpieces this session; the Senate and House overrode the President's veto just before adjournment. Thus Nixon lost two major battles, but he may still have won the political war. He now has two pieces of evidence with which to convince American voters that he is a conscientious selle, N.J., believes McGovern is more likely to look out for the working classes and enforce the law of the land on matters like school integration. Charles Sage, a Clifton, N.J., scientist and a Democrat, says McGovern "has the potential of being a really great President because he'd make a determined effort to restore respect for our Government and supply moral leadership."

The responses of the panelists suggest that two of Nixon's strongest issues continue to be the "welfare ethic" and "giveaway" federal programs, both of which he has energetically opposed in his campaign. Yet the whiff of impropriety about his Administration, perceived in its coziness with big business and the Watergate scandal, troubles some Nixon supporters. Mrs. Roberta Buchanan, a Democrat for Nixon and teacher from Royal Oak, Mich., feels "there must be some element of truth' in the Watergate charges. Donald Derry, a salesman from Livonia, Mich., and a Republican for Nixon, says: "I think the Watergate incident was deplorable.

If the panelists opened the door slightly for McGovern on the corruption issue, they seem to close it on the possibility of complacency among Nixon voters on Election Day, Although 7 out of 10 Nixon supporters are convinced he will win "big," not one thought that was cause for staying the control of the control of the conline of the control of the control of the Nixon supporter from San Texas: "We've all made that mistake

in the past.'

administrator, trying to check inflation and prevent tax increases, while the Democratic majority in Congress is simply profligate. As be often does, Nixon politics of the situation. These nailed my colors to the mast on this issue, he announced. "The political with period to the mast on this issue, he announced where they may." Nixon had, of course, tested the winds first and co-cluded that they would blow him into a safe harbor.

That final week of battle was unusual for the 92nd Congress. For the most part it had been marked by standoffs. With Nixon devoting most of his energies to international rather than domestic affairs, Congress had often operated in a power vacuum. Important bills died, several for want of White House support. Among the victims:

- ▶ Nixon's welfare-reform measures, designed to overhaul the nation's welfare "mess"—which, he feels, now encourages people not to work—by providing both work incentives and work requirements.
- ▶ A bill establishing a new consumer-protection agency (the White House quietly fought against it, partly in response to pressure from big business).
 - ▶ A new and expanded coverage

minimum wage bill, upping the minimum wage from \$1.60 to \$2 an hour right away, and to \$2.20 by 1974.

- A massive highway bill, with riders that would have permitted the funding of mass-transit systems with money now set aside exclusively for highway construction (the President did not support the mass-transit amendments).
- A strong strip mining-control bill.
 A major housing and urban development bill.
- ▶ An Administration-backed bill banning more school busing for the sake of achieving racial desegregation. Recognizing the same political advantage the President saw, the majority of Senators and Congressmen were ready to pitch in and make this bill law, but they were thwarted by filibusters by Liber-

als Jacob Javits and Walter Mondale.

Among the important bills the Congress did pass, in addition to the water pollution-control bill and the President's revenue-sharing scheme:

- ➤ The 18-year-old vote and the constitutional amendment expanding the basic rights of women.
- ▶ Tighter but still far too mild legislation designed to control campaign spending.

New welfare legislation, with vitually no reform measures, that raises Social Security benefits 20% and benefits to widows and widowers from 82.5% of a dead spouse's entitlement to 100%; extends Medicare coverage to 1.7 million people under 65 who are on Social Security disability pensions; and grants a minimum federal income of at least \$130 a month to every aged, blind or disabled American without other income.

The White House, of course, can find little good in that record. Says William Timmons, the White House's Congressional liaison man: "This lethargic Congress will be distinguished in history more by missed opportunities than by constructive performance. The legislative scoreboard is more a sad record than a bad record." House Speaker Carl Albert offered a weak rebuttal. The 92nd was, he said, a "do-something Congress," one that "did not wait to be led but acted on its own." The fact is that neither the Administration nor Congress had much to be proud of. Urgent business had been sidetracked and scarcely a beginning had been made in

Nader's Guide

Having taken the measure of the maior automobile manufacturers, meat packers and industrial polluters, Ralph Nader now has sized up every incumbent Senator and Representative in Congress. He offers 486 separate profiles researched and written at his direction by 250 paid staffers and 750 volunteers, including housewives, graduate students, professors and freelance writers. Through their work, Nader attempts to tell the consumers of American democracy-the voters-exactly what they will be getting should they decide to return their local Congressmen and Senators to Capitol Hill. The profiles are billed as Part 2 in Nader's three-stage raid on Congress. Part 1 was a rather superficial paperback overview called Who Runs Congress? (TIME, Oct. 16), and Part 3 will be a study of congressional committees, rules and procedures.

The project is marred by unsubstantiated innuendos and unconcealed bias. But the profiles, called Citizens Look at Congress, lay out for the voters about as much as they might want to know about their Representatives and Senators-and perhaps more. They detail the voting history and characteristics of each state and district, where each subject got his financial backing in the past several campaigns, how he voted on the floor and in committee, how much time he devotes to committee work and how he is "rated" by various interest groups. It tells how often a Congressman returns to his state or district, whom he sees there, and how to reach him in his Washington office-either by letter or telephone.

Even Nader has not yet read all 486 reports, which range from 20 to 30 pages each. But the exhaustiveness of the project, and its inherent strengths and weaknesses, are clearly limned in a few choice examples:

• Edmund Muskie's profile suggests that if enough people were to read the report, the Senator from Maine would be a long way toward recovery from the blows he suffered during his dissatrous presidential primary campaign. The profile not only corrects the "wishy-but also contradicts an earlier Nader study-group report that accused Muskie of foot dragging on environmental is-



Nixon's new American revolution.





TIME, OCTOBER 30, 1972

THE NATION

sues. This time around, Nader's researcher gave "Mr. Clean" high marks on environment and almost everything a bee. He is, the report notes, "a crack prosecuting attorney" possessed of "native intelligence," courage and an ability to weave a kind of seamless web out of seemingly inharmonious strands of ideas." It does rap an occasional knudsthe war, for instance—but it restores much of the Honest Abe image Muskie enjowed before the primaries.

▶ Eligio de la Garza, Democratic Representative of Texas' 15th Congressional District, is treated less generously. The report claims that there are 25,000 people in the 15th District who do not have potable water but that de la Garza seems uninterested in alleviating the situation. His district is extremely poor, populated largely by Mexican American farmers and migrant workers; yet, according to the report, 90% to 95% of the federal funds coming into the district are channeled to the interests of the 25% "Anglo" portion of the population. The conclusion drawn from the profile is inevitable: de la Garza, a Spanish American, looks out for the well-off Anglos and is indifferent to the needs of his poor Mexican American constituents.

▶ Mississippi Senator John Stennis profile represents one of the Nader report's major lapses. It points out that Stennis has a reputation as a modest pork barreler, and that despite his role as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Mississippi has only four military installations and three defense contractors. Nevertheless, the report suggests darkly that Stennis "may be taking the pork back to his econom ically beleaguered state." Although the report writer eloquently describes the poverty in which many Mississippians live, he seems to resent the fact that HEW and the Department of Agriculture respectively pumped \$549,622,946 and \$372,261,953 into the state. Would he have preferred that Stennis, who sits on the appropriations committees for both departments, oppose such appropriations for his own state?

▶ The profile of George McGovern leans too far the other way—it is so uncritical as to seem reverential. Where it does point up what it considers a flaw, used as Tronkin resolution, it suggests that it can be forgiven as being poliically realistic," an excuse granted to the other subjects. The language of the profile is laced with panegyric phrases like "that kind of humility" and Those who know McGovern well find him neither humble nor unassuming.

On balance, however, Nader's sweeping view of Congress is both useful and fascinating. If nothing else, his appraisals of the country's legislators should start voters thinking about the wisdom of returning some of their Senators and Representatives to office.

Lost Horizon

When the twin-engine Cessna 310 disappeared somewhere between Juneau and Anchorage last week, it set off one of the most extensive aerial searches in Alaska's history. More than 70 airplanes and a sophisticated SR-71, the Air Force's highly developed reconnaissance plane, combed the majestically mountainous area and scanned the waters of Prince William Sound seeking traces of the six-passenger craft. The principal object of the search was House Majority Leader Hale Boggs, 58, who was in Alaska campaigning for Congressman Nick Begich. With Boggs and Begich in the plane were Begich's assistant, Russel Brown, and Pilot Don Jonz. According to FAA authorities, Jonz filed a flight plan that would have



CONGRESSMAN HALE BOGGS Anything but a stereotype.

taken them through the rugged Chugach Mountains, 547 air miles southeast to Juneau.

Though Jone is considered one of the best of Alaská bush pilots, he has gained a reputation of being something of a daredevid during his 15 years of flying. He lost his license in 1966 for flying an overweighted airplane in Florida, but was back in good standing with he PAA in 1968. There may still be some questions about his judgment, all the part of the part of

Boggs' loss could upset the Democratic power structure in Congress. The majority leader since 1971, he was next in line to become House Speaker, and was one of three top leaders in the House (with Speaker Carl Albert and Minority Leader Gerald Ford). First elected to Congress in 1940, Boggs—after a defeat at the polls and a four-year hitch in the Navy-returned in 1946, and has been there since. Representing an urban and cosmopolitan section of New Orleans, he was not the stereotypical Southern Congressman. Though he joined other Southerners in signing a 1956 manifesto opposing school integration, he dramatically came out in favor of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and three years later voted for the open housing law. Brash and at times arrogant, Boggs had a great talent for booming oratory. He thoroughly enjoyed the clubby conviviality of the Congress, but had a high disregard for the tedium of slow-moving House hearings and meetings. He much preferred more sociable activities. His annual May party at his handsome house on the outskirts of Washington was a celebrated social event, with the guest list running to 2.000

If Boggs is indeed dead, the state's party leaders may not have sufficient time to put another name on the ballot before the Nov. 7 election. Under constitutional law, the Governor of Louisiana cannot make an interim appointment to fill the Boggs vacancy. Thus, should the Democrats fail to name a substitute, a special election would be held later. Boggs' wife Corinne ("Lindy") Morrison Claiborne, a politically astute and experienced campaigner, is one of several who might be in the running for the job. At week's end the search for Boggs and his companions was continuing, but hope had diminished that they had survived.

CRIME

The Mafia Bug

Shortly before dawn one morning last week, 1,200 plainclothesmen fanned out through metropolitan New York to serve 677 subpoenas in what Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold expansively called "the most massive investigation of organized crime in the history of this country." Later Gold climbed into his aquamarine Cadillac and led two busloads of reporters to a gangland "summit headquarters"-a grimy, nondescript house trailer in a Brooklyn junkyard called Bargain Auto Parts Inc. Then, standing on a box inside the two-room trailer, Gold stripped away a section of ceiling insulation and tenderly removed a tiny microphone and a transmitter slightly larger than a pack of cigarettes. The bugging device. Gold explained, had been eavesdropping on the Mafia inner sanctum for six months, dutifully recording what his aides described as "a crime story bigger than Appalachin and the Valachi papers combined.

It was hardly that. Though Gold predicts that the evidence amassed by him could "break the back" of organized crime, doubters point out that no subpoena was served on Carlo Gambino, the ailing "boss of bosses." None-brino, the ailing "boss of bosses." None-



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GOLD DISPLAYING BUGGING DEVICE
Eavesdropping on an inner sanctum.

theless, the investigation affords an intriguing look at the workings of both cops and capos and if Gold is right could result in a stunning series of indictments that would attack New York's embattled Mafia clans on yet another front.

The investigation began in December when police, disguised as Christmastree salesmen, set up shop across the street from a Brooklyn bar frequented by mobsters. The surveillance led police to the junkvard trailer where Paul Vario, a capo in the Mafia family of Carmine Tramunti, either met or conferred on three phones with, according to Gold, "all the top members of or-ganized crime." Gold, alluding to an imaginative and innovative approach, is not saying precisely how the bugging device was planted, but it is known that an FBI informer who had unchallenged access to the trailer played a crucial role in installing the "Gold bug.

Setting up an observation post on the top floor of a high school across the street from the junkvard, police compiled a staggering mass of evidence. The bugging device provided more than 300 miles of tape-recorded conversations. Telephone wiretaps produced an additional 21,600 ft. of tape, and 36,000 ft. of color movie film and 54,000 photographs were taken of suspects entering and leaving the trailer. "The view from the summit has not been pretty," said Gold. "We have learned of deals involving the sale of narcotics, extortion and loan-sharking, corruption, coercion, bookmaking, policy, assault and robbery, burglaries, counterfeiting, hijacking, receiving stolen property, forgery, possession and sale of weapons, labor racketeering, stolen-auto rings, untaxed cigarettes, insurance frauds, arson of businesses, the cutting up of autos and boats, prostitution and violations of Alcohol Beverage Control Laws."

Promising indictments "within ten days," Gold said that a Brooklyn grand jury would be given evidence involving nearly 200" legitimate businesses that have been infiltrated or taken over the the Mob. Subpoenas were served on Mafia Chieftain Tramunit, the comprise successor to the leadership of the mess successor to the leadership of the Thomas Luchese, and at least three local officials.

Also under investigation, primarily for accepting payoffs, were 100 policemen who visited the trailer. In one pasage on the tage. Vario is heard to remark as a cop approaches the trailer: Here comes that greedy son of a bitch." Then, as the cop enters, Vario says warmly: "Hizy, pall" The bugging of the trailer was supposedly made public, in fact, because a high-ranking police officer on the take tipped off Vario and his cronies to the telephone taps.

Though some experts on the Mafia question whether a mobster of Vario's relatively low rank could run as important and widespread an operation as Gold claims, there is hope that the district attorney will be able to make at least some of his charges stick. Predicting "additional sensational developments" in the months to come, Gold says: "I think we could see a couple hundred of these fellows going to jail. That would be unparalleled."

De Mau Mau

The scenes evoked grisly memories of the Manson killings. In August, Retired Insurance Broker Paul Corbett, his wife and sister-in-law were found dead each shot in the back of the head with a .25-cal, gun, in the pantry of Corbett's \$100,000 home in the fashionable Chicago suburb of Barrington Hills. A fourth victim, Corbett's stepdaughter, was dead in the blood-spattered kitchen, shot in the chest with a .30-cal, weapon. A month later Machine Designer Stephen Hawtree, his wife and teen-age son were executed in a similar fashion in the basement of their rural home in Monee, Ill. In both instances there was no apparent motive for the slaughter.

Ballistics tests not only linked the two crimes but added two more. Police determined that the same weapons used in the Corbett and Hawtree killings were involved in the murders of Michael Gerchenson, 19, a sophomore at Southern Illinois University who was cound shot to death in May on a street. On the country of the co

Fearing that the murders were the work of a Manson-style gang, some residents of Barrington Hills were even said to have started carrying shotguns to cocktail parties. Last week the gang theory gained some credence. Chicago police announced that they had arrested inne black youths who are members

of a little-known terrorist group that calls itself "De Mau Mau."

Cook County Sheriff Richard Elrod described De Mau Mau as a group of disgruntled Viet Nam veterans. Racial hatred, he said, "could have been one of the primary motives" for the slavings. "I can see no other apparent motivation." Chicago newspapers were quick to play up the case. Chicago Today, for instance, ran headlines declaring MURDER GANG 3,000 STRONG and DE MAU MAU TAKING OVER FOR THE PANTHERS. Sources close to the blackmilitant movement, however, called such charges preposterous, saving that De Mau Mau was a loosely organized group with less than 50 members.

They shared an elaborate greeting, a rapid meeting of hands, fists and elbows and a whispered chant in the ear, and a common suffering-a lack of jobs and opportunity. Barry Wright, president of the Concerned Veterans from Viet Nam, had met with some of those charged and says that they were bitter because "they couldn't get decent jobs. The way the whole society had turned an about-face just turned them cold. Some people can deal with it and keep on scufflin' every day. But some people it hurts, it affects them." At the Concerned Veterans headquarters in Chicago, one unemployed black veteran said that he could understand the frustration of the accused: "You go to a job interview, and they ask what experience you have. What you going to do-tell 'em you're a trained killer?" None of which, of course, is any rationale for murder

At their arraignment last week, the suspects appeared with arms extended in the Black Power salute. But one of them muttered disconsolately to deputies: "I just don't care. I hope I get the chair. I just want to get it over with."



DE MAU MAU SUSPECT NATHANIEL BURSE For some, just getting it over with.



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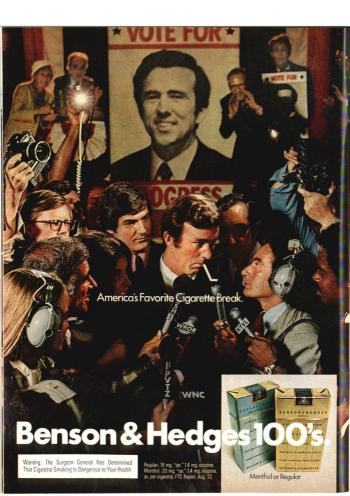
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ISSUES '72

Nixon v. McGovern on Taxes, Prices, Jobs

MORE than crime in the streets or corruption in high places, alienation, the domestic issue that rivets the attention of Americans is the economy. High taxes, high prices, high unemployment -these are the pocketbook problems that the voters are talking about. To solve the problems, Richard Nixon and George Mc-Govern are presenting not just contrasting programs but fundamentally different visions of what American society should be like. In a second Administration, Nixon would strive for economic stability above all else and seek to interfere as little as possible in private enterprise, aside from maintaining wage and price controls for a while. A McGovern Administration would take an

activist lead in aiming to redistribute income and wealth more equitably among all citizens. That philosophical dispute colors the two candidates' positions on every basic aspect of the economic issue:

Nixon would try to trim federal non-military spending; McGovern would raise it by tens of billions yearly. Nixon says that he would oppose

tax increases of any kind; McGovern would press for severe tax increases on corporations, investors and heirs

Nixon would give the highest priority to battling inflation, even if his policies would prolong an uncomfortably steep rate of unemployment; McGovern would drive to restore full employment even at the risk of more inflation

As the campaign pulls into the final stretch, both the President and the Senator have sharpened their rhetoric. Nixon declares: "I consider the battle against higher prices and higher taxes to be the major domestic issue of this presidential campaign. This Government does not need any more of your income, and it should not be allowed to take any more of your salary and wages in taxes.

For his part, McGovern last week repeated his promise to spend \$10 billion

on an emergency program to hire unemployed people and put them to work building housing, public-transit and sewage-plant projects. He also pledged again to spend additional billions for new education and welfare programs. "The choice," he asserted, "is between Mr. Nixon's large increases in military spending, accompanied by substantial cutbacks in education, health care and the like, and the McGovern program to move in the opposite direction-to cut defense spending, close tax loopholes and use precious public funds to meet our needs here at home

Though voters are deeply, personally worried about these is-sues, TIME correspondents' interviews across the country indicate that few people are listening to the fine points of the candidates' debate. The voters are choosing not only between two philosophies but between two men-and between the sometimes annoying known and the vaguely frightening unknown

In part that is because Nixon, aside from his generalized pledges to hold down spending and taxes, has refused to let himself be smoked out on many economic subjects. He has yet to enunciate a tax-reform program, or to say how long he might continue wageprice controls, or to indicate what level of unemployment he believes might be consistent with reasonable price stability. This strategy of silence hardly contributes to public enlightenment, but it is effective politically. Voters think that they know where Nixon stands, even though the President who now decries federal deficits will have run up by the end of this fiscal year a cu-

mulative budget deficit of at least \$74 billion since he took office. McGovern, as the propounder of new ideas, has made himself the focus of discussion-disastrously for his presidential drive. For many voters the campaign as far as economics goes has resolved itself into a single issue: Can McGovern produce a sound and consistent policy for managing the intricate, delicate, complex U.S. economy? From high-salaried executives to modestly paid clerks, many believe that he cannot. They have concluded that McGovern is a fuzzy thinker who listens to bad advice from ultraliberal economists, changes his mind too often (Nixon's dramatic turnabouts on foreign policy and economic controls seem to be ignored), and makes promises that cannot be fulfilled.

By talking during the primary campaign of giving what his advisers called a \$1,000 "demogrant" to everybody-even though the proposal was meant to replace some existing welfare programs-Mc-Govern excited the social reformers, who are a minority in America, while deeply offending multitudes who thought it contradictory to the work ethic (see THE Essay, page 96). As Economist Arthur Okun, a McGovern adviser, puts it: "The things that helped him win the division pennant have hurt him in the World Series." When McGovern belatedly buried the demogrant idea in August, he alienated many more people, who decided that in the realm of economics he simply does not know what he is talking about. What is surprising is that voters who

are loudly and sometimes angrily dissatisfied with Nixon's economic management are at the same time often anti-McGovern. "The whole economic situation is bad," savs Wendell Rushton, a mechanic in Miami, Still, Rushton will vote for Nixon because "McGovern is wishy-washy, and his ideas are too far out." Stuart Silver, a construction superintendent in Chicago, frets that "there are too many people out of work." But Silver is hesitant to vote for McGovern because "his plans are just not realistic, and he keeps



is already beginning to bring us out of the Nixon recession.

changing his position.

Resentment against McGovern's spending and welfare plans is also widespread, and it is by no means confined to people who are affluent or white or both. Christine Trice, a black who is a dressmaker in Los Angeles, asserts: "There is so much fraud in welfare and no incentive to get a job. Welfare needs cutting down, but McGovern seems to want to add to it. Paying for it will come out of the pockets of working people." In Miami, Leonard Lang, a student and part-time clerk, says: "I'd very much like to know what happens to the one-third of my paycheck that's taken in taxes every week. Just for once, people want to feel that Uncle Sam is taking his hand out of their pockets.

Economically as well as socially. Nixon is effectively appealing to rising conservative feelings. Yet to the extent that there is a pro-Nixon vote on economic issues-as distinct from an anti-Mc-Govern vote-it reflects not so much conservative ideology as an "I'm all right, Jack" attitude among the many voters whose fortunes have improved during the exuberant upturn of the past year. "The farmer is going to vote for Nixon," declares William L. Lanier, who raises soybeans and tobacco in Georgia. "For the first time in years, the farmer is making a profit." Indeed, the Administration in the past year has lifted farm subsidies by \$1 billion, to \$4 billion, helping increase farm income by 15%. Alex Harkness. a construction worker in Knoxville, Tenn., says complacently: "I

THE ECONOMY

have a new home, I have a new car, I'm putting a son through college. I'll stick with Nixon and hope the situation will just stay sta-

tus quo for another four years.

The economy certainly has not shaken clear of all its problems. The Government reported last week that consumer prices in September rose one-half of 1%-more than double the August increase-and the growth of gross national product slowed, as expected, to an annual rate of 5.9% in the third quarter, from an unsustainable 9.4% the previous quarter. But the overall record is good. Prices this year have risen less than pay, so the real income of workers is increasing, and G.N.P. for all 1972 is still expected to show a record rise of \$100 billion. Even his Democratic critics concede that Nixon has done a remarkable job of turning the economy around—and turning the economic issue to his favor—since he clamped on price and wage controls in August of 1971, "Nixon has learned a lot about managing the economy," says Economist Otto Eckstein. "Unemployment is high, but the inflation and jobless rates have gone down. People can see an improvement." Eckstein, a Harvard professor, reckons that his own grading of Nixon on economics has risen in the past 14 months from D to A-minus.

The most important Nixon-McGovern differences, though, are not about the economic record but about policy for the

future. Their major points of dispute: SPENDING. This is the area of clearestcut contrast. The American Enterprise Institute, a Republican-leaning think-tank. figures that by fiscal 1975, a Nixon Administration would be spending \$301 billion a year, but the budget of a McGovern Administration would be almost \$85 billion more than that. Under Nixon's budget, military spending would rise from \$76.5 billion now to \$84.5 billion in fiscal 1975, even assuming an end to the Viet Nam War. The rise would be necessary to cover retirement-pay costs and the expense of new weaponry. The rise in civilian spending would be held to only the automatic increases in the cost of present Nixon programs and plans. McGovern would vastly expand nondefense expenditures while struggling to slash the defense budget by \$30 billion. In fact, he has probably underestimated the cost of his own defense plans. The A.E.I. economists guess that he might actually hold Penta-

gon spending \$21 billion below what Nixon would allow. These estimates are best read as guides

to the candidates' intentions called guarato the candidates' intentions called guarato on last week lost his fight to have Congress impose a \$250 billion ceiling on spending in this fiscal year. He can achieve the same result now only by refusing to make expenditures that Congress has ordered, in such areas as manpower training and pollution control. Treasury Secretary George Shultz promises that Nixon will try to Treasury Secretary George Shultz promises that Nixon will try to billion, but the Presprengiated money to limit spending to \$250 billion, but the Presprengiated money to limit spending to \$250 billion, but the Presprengiated money to mist spending to \$250 billion, but the Presprengiated money to mist spending to \$250 billion, but the Presprengiated money to mist spending to \$250 billion that the present the spending that the program when the present the

Given the legal or political untouchability of rising outlays for Social Security, veteran's henefits, unemployment compensation, interest on the national debt and myriad other items, there are only a lew areas where Nicon could cut deeply. The biggest is grants-inal evarages where Nicon could cut deeply. The biggest is grants-instates and cities for school and hospital construction and services, states and cities for school and hospital construction and services, where the school of the school of the school of the school of the them would rouse angry opposition from Governors and mayors, who might lose more than they would gain through revenue sharhow the school of the school of the school of the school of the work of the school of the school of the school of the school of part on the size of his majority and school of the school of the free he will feel to take an ax to social spending.

The prospective McGovern budget also contains as many uncertainties as a stock market forecast. No less than \$63 billion of the amount that the American Enterprise Institute calculates that he would spend in fiscal 1975 represents the estimated cost of a Senate bill that he co-sponsored to have the Government take over payment of most hospital and dector bills. But WcGovern has been notably silent about just who would pay how much to finance his health-care plans. Beyond that, the Senator has a confusing our menioning the same figure in different contexts, leaving about a contract of the plant of the pl

Still, his goals are clear enough. He is committed to his emergency employment program and to a \$15 billion increase in federal aid to education that would enable states and cities to reduce property taxes. He also wants a \$15 albilion welfare program that property that the above and the state of the comparison of four that has no other income. Other families would get enough to risas their income to \$4,000, if they do not already earn that much. (Nixon's rhetorical stateks on McGovern's "welfare ethic" orwithstanding, the President himself did a great deal to make the orient that the state of th

In addition, McGovern would spend liberally on a long list of other programs, including mass-transit rehabilitation, pollution

control, an expanded G.I. Bill of Rights for Viet Nam veterans and even, regrettably, higher farm-price supports. He has promised farmers supports at 90% of parity v. 75% now. The exact amounts of new expenditures would depend on how much he could pare defense outlays and how much new revenue he could raise.

TAMES. This is really two issues: revenue and equity. On the revenue side, oddly, Nixon and McGovern come out at the same point. Though McGovern's budget would be much higher than Nixon's by 1975, each would be spending around \$20 billion more than his tax policy would bring in, even at full employment. That large a "full-employment defict" could ig-

nite a rapid inflation.

Though Nixon vows to cut spending enough to eliminate the full-employment budget deficit, chances that he can do it are almost nil. The American Enterprise Institute calculates that he will have to put a walloping 11% surcharge on individual

and corporate income taxes by 1975, or

"He says he'll go back over some of his mathematics!"

The Administration once toped with the idea of a value-added tax, a kind of national sales levy, but Herbert Stein, Nixon's chief economist, now says that the President will not recommend one. Nixon is already struggling to pin on the Democratic donkey the tail of blame for some other type of tax increase. In a pledge that has greatly impressed voters, he vows that there will be "no presidential tax increase". — but he adds that there may be a "congressional increase" or but he adds that there may be a "congressional increase" forced by Democratic spenders. And unless McGovern reduces his spending programs or countenances well inflation, he reduces his spending programs or countenances with inflation, he infederal taxes than he does now. If McGovern stuck to all his spending plans and got them all through Congress—two unlikely assumptions—his tax increases would have to exceed Nixon's.

On the equity side of the issue, McGovern is quite precise. He proposes tax reforms that would raise \$22 billion a year from af-

fluent people and corporations. Major changes:

• Raise the capital gains tax on the sale of securities or property to the full rates levied on ordinary income. At present, capital gains are usually taxed at half those rates. As an offset, the other come tax rates of 50% on salaries and 70% on dividends, interest and rent would be lowered to 48%.

► Tear down tax shelters for real estate investors.

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lesser amounts for other minerals.

➤ Reduce the 7% investment tax credit.

➤ End the fast depreciation write-offs on plants and machines.
The aim is partly to raise revenue, but much more to force

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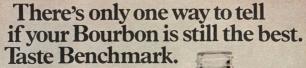
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companies and well-to-do individuals to pay what McGovern calls their "fair share." In the most memorable line of his campaign. McGovern thundered: "Money made by money should be taxed at the same rate as money made by men." This has touched off a great controversy over capital gains taxes. Supporters of the present tax structure insist that money made by money deserves preferential treatment, in part because it represents the reward for capitalist risk taking. They add that McGovern's tax policy would hinder investment that is vital to economic growth. There would indeed be some danger of dampening investment, but McGovern has at least produced a tax program that is logically consistent and that would obey the principle of levying taxes in accordance with people's ability to pay.

The Republican platform also pledges Nixon to tax reform, but what that might consist of is a mystery. The President once talked of providing \$16 billion to local communities for property tax relief, but he now promises unspecified modest sums to reduce property taxes for the elderly only. Administration officials hint that they have in mind some other tax reforms that would encourage investment; these changes look like the opposite of Mc-Govern's. Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson talks of cutting capital gains taxes. The idea is to allow investors to deduct certain sums representing the extent to which the real value of

the gain has been reduced by inflation. PRICES AND JOBS. These two issues are inseparably linked. It would be a crude and unfair oversimplification to say that Nixon is "for unemployment" or that Mc-Govern is "for inflation." But each would face a cruel choice of which to fight harder, and their approaches would be quite

different Nixon's budget-paring program is aimed as much at checking inflation as minimizing tax boosts. The President hopes to drive the unemployment rate from its present 5.5% to below 5% next year, but many economists doubt that he can do it unless he abandons his efforts to hold fiscal 1973 spending close to \$250 billion. In any case, Administration officials have never set any target date for reach-ing the traditional "full-employment" goal of 4%. They imply that 4% cannot be achieved quickly without spending so

much money as to light inflationary fires. McGovern is admirably explicit: he has said repeatedly that his "domestic pri-ority No. 1" is a job "for every man and

woman capable of working" and has committed himself to pushing unemployment down to 4% by 1974. He would do so partly by means of his \$10 billion program to immediately hire 1,000,000 people-many of them heads of welfare families-and partly by spending on a wide variety of programs to expand demand throughout the economy. McGovern says on the stump that "the Nixon inflation is ground into every pound of hamburger you buy." But former Budget Director Charles Schultze, a McGovern adviser, concedes that wage and price boosts might be higher under his candidate than under a re-elected Nixon. Schultze insists that the inflationary price must be paid, if necessary, to avoid the social disruption caused by prolonged unemploymen

CONTROLS. This is an issue that will face the next President immediately after Inauguration Day. He will have to decide quickly what changes, if any, to recommend in the present law, which expires April 30. Nixon is pledged to dismantle the controls-which he erected in violation of his own free-enterprise principles soon as he judges that inflation can be checked without them. He is almost sure to extend them for a while. Indeed, he might even tighten them, at least on labor, in line with the general conservative and anti-inflationary bent of a second Nixon Administration. Neil Jacoby, a Republican member of the Pay Board, has suggested that the guideline for wage increases might be lowered to "around 4%" from the present 5.5%. Nixon is under pressure from businessmen to relax the guideline on profit margins, but he has given no hint whether he will do so.

McGovern's spending proclivities would seem to make con-trols even more essential for him than for Nixon, but he long

talked as if controls were a bit of Nixon trickery that he intended to abolish quickly. He has now come around to advocating a control plan of his own, but it is still a less formal one than the President's McGovern would replace the Pay Board and Price Commission with a single review board that would be part of the White House. After consulting with industry, labor and consumer representatives, the board would draw up guidelines for pay and price increases. Compliance would be mostly voluntary, but McGovern as President would retain authority to order rollbacks of increases that "flagrantly" violated the standards.

Many other economic issues also divide the candidates. Nixon, for example, might loosen federal surveillance of business, largely by shaking up the regulatory agencies. Consumer Activist Miles Kirkpatrick is likely to step out as chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and will probably be replaced by someone less eager to force retractions of misleading or overly puffy advertising. McGovern, by contrast, would tighten federal regulation of business. The Justice Department under Nixon prides itself on vigorous trustbusting against conglomerate mergers (without mentioning ITT); but Nixon himself has hinted privately that he would like antitrust laws relaxed for U.S. companies that compete in world markets. Commerce Secretary Peterson has argued that present law prevents textile and steel producers from combining

into larger, more efficient firms that could better battle imports from Japanese and other overseas rivals. McGovern, on the other hand, has called for an even tougher

antitrust policy

Indeed, if Nixon wins by a landslide he would be strongly tempted to interpret his margin of victory as a resounding mandate for a turn to economic conservatism. Alan Greenspan, a member of TIME's Board of Economists who is an adviser to Nixon, says: "As a private citizen Richard Nixon is quite conservative. After the election his policies will probably be significantly more conservative than they were during his first term, but for pragmatic reasons more than ideological reasons. He senses that a tax increase would be very bad for the Republic. As a result, he is quite serious about restraining spending.

But will Nixon win by a landslide? The latest TIME survey of voters, conducted by Daniel Yankelovich Inc., shows McGovern gaining some ground on the economic issue, but nowhere near enough. As of ear-



At first glance, it would seem improbable. Many economists now interpret last spring's clamor for tax reform as a confused cry from the middle class to keep its own taxes down, rather than to raise levies on others. "People are not interested in income shares, but only in the level of their own taxes," Greenspan argues. The only welfare reform that the public seems to crave is one tightening work requirements. Certainly it will be a long time before any politician again advocates \$1,000 for everybody.

ern can survive an overwhelming defeat.

Yet even a substantial Nixon victory would not be likely to bury the McGovern-raised issues entirely, but only drive them underground for a while. They could easily re-emerge-soon and with force. If Nixon is compelled to propose a tax increase, as he probably will be, he will touch off an acrimonious quarrel about tax preferences for corporations, investors and high-income people. If the tax increase is needed largely to pay for greater military outlays, the argument over spending priorities will break out again in full cry. Conversely, if Nixon's budget hold-down causes the economy to slow and unemployment to rise from an already too high level, Democrats will certainly revive the pressure for a jobcreating program. McGovern's ineffective campaign has deprived the nation of the searching debate over its economic future that once seemed likely this year. But he has provided abundant raw material for the Democratic candidate of 1976-and beyond.



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WILLIAM WHITELAW

THE WORLD

NORTHERN IRELAND

A Timetable to End Terror

THE Protestant sections of Belfast burst out last week in sudden and open fury. During two nights of violent rioting, which included a threehour gun battle with British troops in the heart of the city, six people were killed and more than 100 soldiers and civilians injured. The rampages marked the first major Protestant attacks on British troops since the soldiers were sent to Northern Ireland more than three years ago to curb violence between Ulster's Catholics and Protestants. The riots also coincided with a tough new mood in Westminster. A British government source last week told TIME that Britain is no longer disposed to let its troops be shot at indefinitely while the opposing Ulster factions refuse to get together and reach a political settlement If the Northern Irish do not settle

their differences and come up with a new constitution within four months. the British government will impose one of its own making. If a new constitution has to be imposed and the Ulster political parties refuse to operate under it. said a Whitehall insider last week, "we would be faced with a situation of the utmost gravity in which our total withdrawal from Northern Ireland cannot be ruled out." The government has a detailed timetable worked out. The Cabinet is determined that one way or another there will be a new constitution ready before next March, when the special powers that Westminster assumed over the province will be one year old and, by law, must be either renewed or ended Within the next week or so, the Brit-

ish government intends to publish guidelines to its own thinking on what provisions a new Ulster constitution might contain. Westminster strongly favors some form of regional assem in Belfast; it does not approve of a revamped provincial Parliament dominated by a Cabinet-such as the one through which the Protestants ruled Northern Ireland from Stormont. And Britain does not want the full integration of Ulster into the United Kingdom in the manner of Scotland and Wales. A regional assembly could be modeled along the lines of the Greater London Council, with various assembly committees-some headed by Catholics-administering the province's financial, social welfare, housing, transport and general police affairs. Internal security would remain under William Whitelaw, Britain's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, for an indefinite period. Foreign affairs and defense would continue to be handled, as in the days of Stormont, by Westminster.

White Paper. The obvious hope of the British Cabinet is that the guidelines will encourage representatives of all the Ulster political parties to meet independently with Whitelaw and work out a settlement of their own that can then be presented to Westminster. Extremist Catholic and Protestant groups can hardly be expected to cooperate, of course, but the government is prepared to proceed with an "agreed" solution even if it carries the backing of only the Unionist Party (which has traditionally represented most Protestants) and the Liberal Alliance Party (which includes many Catholics). If no one agrees, the Cabinet will then formulate its own solution. However the formula is arrived at, it will first be presented as a White Paper early in the New Year (probably at the beginning of February), at the same time that a referendum is held on whether the citizens of Ulster want to join Ireland-a proposition that the Protestant majority seems certain to reject. Soon after, the White Paper will be translated into a bill and placed before Parliament. To help ensure its passage. Opposition Leader Harold Wilson and his shadow cabinet will be invited to assist in the drafting of the legislation.

That timetable to end the terror of Ulster was being prepared long before the Protestant riots erupted last week. But the riots underscored the futility of Britain's trying to keep the peace while waiting for Ulstermen to negotiate a settlement among themselves. The waves of attacks were a controlled show of frightening power by the paramilitary Ulster Defense Association, Little more than a clubhouse of toughs and workers less than a year ago, the U.D.A. now claims to have 53,000 members, including a few American "volunteers" who are veterans of Viet Nam (but whom nobody seems to have seen). It also boasts of having almost unlimited sources of funds, a claim somewhat supported by the fact that its former chairman is now awaiting trial in London on charges of trying to buy nearly \$1,000,000 worth of firearms.

Few Orangemen of any persuasion seem to have the heart these days to say no to the U.D.A., which dispenses jobs, money, small favors and, of course, local protection in Protestant areas. It even handles the burying of the dead. In a prelude to last week's rioting, the U.D.A. buried with its own form of full military honors two young Protestants who had been killed by British army vehicles. According to the U.D.A. one of the victims, a 26-year-old man with a limp, had been chased by a Saracen personnel carrier and deliberately crushed against the side of a house; the other, a 15-year-old boy, had been trapped and run over by a Land-Rover. According to the army, on the other hand, both had been accidentally hit during a riot. On the first night of the rioting, the U.D.A. set up flower shrines, each covered with the Ulster flag, at the places where the two victims had been killed. On one of the shrines was hung a hand-lettered sign: REVENGE IS SWEET. Earlier the U.D.A. had described the deaths as cold-blooded murders and issued a "declaration of war" against the British army. "To hell with the British army," it said. "To hell with the British adminis-

tration. The British army and the British government are now our enemies." Soon after the attacks began.

While the fighting went on, the U.D.A. succeeded in getting the British commanding officer, General Sir Harry Tuzo, to attend private peace negotiations at U.D.A. headquarters. The talks were conducted as if they involved two major powers. After two days and six hours, U.D.A. leaders emerged solemnly to announce that they had agreed to a truce. Declared one U.D.A. spokesman, surrounded by aides in commando battle gear: "Our war with the British army is now over." Many Northern Irishmen are not so sure. Said one moderate member of the Unionist Party: "The task is to get through the next six months without a major bloody conflict."

That task got no help whatsoever from William Craig, leader of the militant Ulster Vanguard, who last month formed an alliance with the U.D.A. Addressing a right-wing Conservative Party group in a meeting room at Britain's House of Commons last week, Craig declared: "We are not prepared to accept any dictate of a government that has sold us down the drain. I am prepared to kill!" In an extraordinary outburst that stunned his audience. Craig predicted that Ulster will declare its independence after a bloodbath in which the Protestants will destroy the Catholics. "Six hundred people have died in Ulster," he said. "A thousand and more will die before Christmas." It was the sort of violent rhetoric that so often has inflamed the agony of Ulster. If the Northern Irish ignore Britain's program for a new constitution and force the British to pull out, Ulster could be engulfed in the bloodiest battles in its tort; red history.

COMMON MARKET

The View from the Summit

We are not seeking to submerge our national personalities, but to combine them into a European personality that will make its weight felt.

-Edward Heath in Paris

RENCH President Georges Pompidou struck almost the same theme when he declared that "Europe is a reality, with its own personality." Yet, in their two days of meetings last week, the political leaders of Europe demonstrated that the Common Market is still beset by the divisions that have hand-capped it since its founding in 1958. France is determined to maintain a loose confederation of nation states



OPENING OF EEC MEETING IN PARIS

while the other members are, in varying degrees, committed to the creation of a Europe that is united politically as well as economically.

As the Common Market summit ended, the divisions were still apparent. A 3.500-word communiqué, produced after a prolonged bargaining session that forced delegates to cancel out of a planned farewell party for them and some 400 guests, proclaimed the leaders' common objective: European union by 1980. The nature of that union was not specified. The Dutch, heading the supranationalist contingent within the European Economic Community, even threatened to veto any progress toward monetary union unless it was accompanied by sufficient advances in political integration. The Belgians finally produced a compromise-that the Community leave it to the EEC Commission and the European Parliament to devise plans for political union—but set a three-year deadline for a blueprint that even Pompidou could accept.

The summit also marked the enrance of Britain into Europe's troubled suprapolities. Just two days before the Paris meeting, the House of Lords was notified of Royal Assent to the treaty specifying the terms of British entry into the enlarged EEC—along with Denmark and Ireland—on Jan. I. As Prime partnership we have a channee as a great partnership we have a channee as a great people, as a formidable nation, as a shaper and molder of the modern world, to get back into action."

The French press hailed the summit as the largest gathering of political notables since the 1919 peace conference that produced the Treaty of Versailles; but the Champs-Elysées remained bannerless and unfestive beneath a brilliant autumn sky. As delegates began to arrive at the spruced-up Hotel Majestic, from which the Viet Nam peace negotiators had been temporarily evicted, 1.500 uniformed policemen lined the nearby streets; plainclothesmen huddled in elegant doorways looking for all the world like pimps for the fun girls of Montmartre.

As if arriving delegates needed to be reminded that Europe faces a Japanese economic challenge as well as one from America, they were obliged to pass a huge Toyota showroom whose beaming proprietors happily threw open their doors and handed out free drinks and sandwiches for any spectators who stopped to watch the

leaders of Europe assemble.

Each of the top echelon of leaders had been honored on arrival in Paris by the playing of his country's national anthem—each, that is, except the President of the EEC Commission, Siscoid of the CEC Commission, Siscoid Mansholt In French eyes, the able Mansholt does not rank with the heads of government—and besides, what must be the conference, Mansholt and the sing stage of the conference, Mansholt had been scheduled for only the least important of four official luncheons —which ranged from heads of govern—which ran

ment at the Elysée Palace to a lunch for the foreign ministers at the Louvre, down to a catch-all meal for "others" at the Hotel George V. Only after some adroit lobbying from Brussels was Mansholt upgraded from the George V to the Quai d'Orsay. In his opening statement, President Georges Pompidou declared that the links between Europe and the U.S. "are so close that it would be absurd to conceive of a Europe constructed in opposition to it." He addect. "But the very opean personality must assert itself on equal terms with that of the United States." As a practical matter, he reiterated, France believed the dollar should again become convertible and that the price of gold should be increased; at \$38 an oz., he said, "no one to have been supported to the programment of the programm

The Community's leaders were openly concerned that the summit would be so unproductive as to damage even further the Common Market's reputation among their own constituencies and particularly among the young (TIME, Oct. 23). It was true enough that the deliberations were not the stuff that dreams are made on. Nonetheless, the leaders took a notable step toward creating a common currency by agreeing to set up a central authority that would have the power-and the funds-to help member states defend the stability of their currencies. It would also have the power to coordinate the narrow ranges within which the European currencies are allowed to fluctuate (a process that Europeans sometimes colorfully describe as keeping "the snake in the tunnel").

Inflation. As espected, the delegates made an important concession to West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, who faces a close decition next month, the control of the control of the control of the control countries should take joint action against inflation, thereby, in effect, assuring the West German electorate that inflation is a European problem and not inflation is a European problem and not members enjoined their Finance Minsites, who will meet next week in Luxembourg, to prepare a program for combatting inflation on a Communitycombatting inflation on a Community-

Although inflation is one of Europe's hottest political issues, the Common Market in the long run will be judged more by its success in improving the quality of European life. Underlining the need to "appeal to the imagination of future generations," as Denmark's new Prime Minister, Anker Jörgensen, put it, members agreed on the need to delve into social issues that the Market has not faced before: problems of employment, consumer protection, the environment, the role of multinational corporations, and the treatment of Western Europe's approximately 6,000,000 "guest workers. Besides the long-term effect that such a program could have on the attitudes of vounger Europeans, it might well provide an immediate boost to the political fortunes of Brandt and Pompidou. both of whom are stuck at the moment with unfulfilled domestic promises of

BRITAIN

A Fresh Start

On former military bases now converted into refugee centers across Britain, thousands of Asians from Uganda last week wound up their ten-day celebration of Navratri, a Hindu festival of songs, prayer chants and dances in honor of an ancient war victory by the god Rama over the demons of the underworld. The incense and joss sticks were often lit at makeshift shrines on card tables, and the traditional ornate. hand-painted dancing sticks were replaced by plain wood dowels. Displaced and dispossessed, the refugees nonetheless found abundant reason to celebrate. Said one technical engineer, who arrived in London with his wife and seven children: "We are here. We are safe. We are very happy

So far, 18,000 Asians of British cir.

ziership have landed in England from Uganda as a result of General Idi Amin Dada's expulsion order. Several thousand more are resettling in Canada assets they have left behind, with latte hope of full compensation, are estimated to be worth more than a billion dollars. Despite rumons of wealth secreted in Britain and Switzerland, many of the refugees have arrived, as one British scale to the worth of the second of the sec

As they left the Ugandan airport of Entebbe, the refugees said, they could see rows of their cargo crates still stacked beside the runway. Some of the crates had already been opened, expended over like how and crateful cause they feared searches at roadblocks and airport customs, the refugees carried with them only the barest of personal belongings, often chosen in haste: a tennis racket, lape recorder, dra, a student, wowe 20 elenhant-hair bracelets to give to people in England. One family, luckier than most, smuggled out a diamond valued at \$10,000. In Uganda, nearly all of the Asians

had been prosperous they are estimated to have controlled 80% of Uganda's economy). But still they complain remarkably little about their frastically diminished status. "Actually." says an engineer. "I was going to come earlier. The only difference is that I would have miless." Smiles an ex-merchant from Kampala: "The only thing I miss is my Citroën."

Family reunions are curiously without tears. A university student in a pinstriped suit awaits his father, a wellto-do Ugandan architect who will probably not qualify to practice in England. What are his emotions about this turn in the family's fortunes? "It's a bloody that the properties of the properties of the statement owner from Kampalu." There is no big problem. You only have to begin from scratch, work and earn, and

CELEBRATING NAVRATRI FESTIVAL





slowly, slowly everything will be all SOUTH KOREA

Though some of the refugees say that difficulties and harassment in Uganda have subsided, there are still occasional reports of random terror. One father arrived in London only to receive a call telling him that his son, after driving him to the Ugandan airport, had been stopped by soldiers and slowly cut to death with machete-like panea knives. A businessman said that he left hurriedly after both his partners in a gas-station chain were stopped while carrying the week's receipts into Kampala, put into the trunk of a car and driven to a village where they were hanged.

Britons Approve. Such excesses have helped make Amin Public Enemy No. 1 in the eyes of most Britons -and created some sympathy for the arriving Asians. Last week Amin called British High Commissioner Richard Slater into his office before live TV cameras and accused him of plotting against the Ugandan government; London angrily recalled its representative. Most Britons, according to a recent Harris poll, approve of Prime Minister Edward Heath's firm commitment to absorb the

Still, the Asians must find jobs in one of the worst and most prolonged periods of unemployment in Britain's postwar history. Before the influx, there were already 600,000 Asians in the country. Their coexistence with vocal pockets of racism was at best an uneasy one, and there were fears that the situation might be exacerbated by the new immigrants. Some quarters of the Asian community have rallied round, however. A group of prominent East African Asians already established in Britain have quietly assembled investment capital to assist the refugees in rebuilding their fortunes. They are urging them to avoid areas where there are already large Asian communities. Says Praful Patel, a business consultant who serves on the government-appointed Resettlement Board: "If they want to make a success of themselves in Britain, they have got to try to integrate as quickly as possible and avoid making little ghettos.

The path to integration has been somewhat eased-and their welcome made a little warmer—by new estimates that only some 26,000 Asians, instead of the 30,000 to 50,000 refugees originally expected, will immigrate to Britain. Even so, there will probably be another 5,000 Asians left behind, and they are the unluckiest of all. They earlier rejected British passports in favor of Ugandan citizenship, which has been arbitrarily revoked by Amin. They are now stateless. Britain has declined to consider restoring them to citizenship, and has referred their case to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. But there is growing concern whether any international body can act swiftly enough to save them from being further victimized.

Power Grab

Tanks rumbled into Seoul last week and took up positions in front of the National Assembly, the capitol, the opposition-party headquarters and newspaper offices. Troops surrounded the house of the editor of Seoul's biggest daily and quickly turned Yonsei University into an armed camp. Then, in a pre-recorded television speech, President Park Chung Hee informed South Koreans that he was proclaiming martial law and dissolving the National Assembly. He also banned all political activities, closed the universities and imposed tight censorship on the press.

Park, who first took power in a military coup eleven years ago, cryptically declared that his move was necessary to reform the political structure, conpears to have increased tensions and imperiled the talks with North Korea-the opposite of his stated intentions. Radio Pyongyang last week charged that Park had acted "to dampen the desire and aspiration of the South Korean people for peaceful reunification."

Park's move came as an embarrassing surprise to Washington, which over the past two years has watched Cam-bodia, South Viet Nam, Thailand and the Philippines-nations once known as "Free Asia"-shed the last vestiges of democracy. The U.S. at present has more ground troops (43,000) in South Korea than in South Viet Nam and annually provides Park's regime with \$240 million in economic aid. Washington informed Park that it saw no justification for the imposition of martial law, U.S. disenchantment deepened after Park forwarded a confidential outline of his constitutional proposals. As



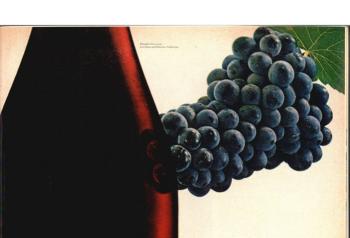
SCHOOLGIRLS FORM PARK'S PORTRAIT ON ARMED FORCES DAY Tanks, bayonets and an Orwellian atmosphere.

trol "irresponsible political parties" and ease the problems of reunification with North Korea. He said that draft amendments to the constitution will be announced this week and put to a national referendum next month. He also expressed fear that "the interests of smaller countries might be sacrificed" as a result of the U.S.-China détente -meaning that the U.S. would no longer automatically and fully back any rene just because it is anti-Communist.

In fact. Park's real motive appears to have been to enhance and prolong his own power. There has been none of the political instability, social unrest or economic chaos that ordinarily pre-cedes martial law. Park already had sweeping powers under a state of emergency declared last December. These powers, invoked on the grounds of an imminent attack" from North Korea. were used to stifle the political opposition. His new action, moreover, apeveryone suspected, it indicated that Park is planning an extension of his presidential term, which under the constitution is due to expire in 1975.

The South Korean President has shown a hunger for extraordinary power before. In 1969 he had the constitution amended to permit him to run for a third four-year term. He won that term in last year's voting, but not nearly as handily as he had anticipated. Kim Dae Jung, leader of the New Democratic Party and a relatively unknown politician at the time, polled 46% of the popular vote on a campaign against Park's police-state methods and in favor of peaceful reunification. At the same time, Park's Democratic Republican Party lost its two-thirds majority in the Assembly, while the opposition doubled its strength to 89 seats

In Tokyo, where he was visiting (and decided to remain for the time being), Kim denounced Park's action, "His



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THE WORLD

stated reason that the constitution requires revision is a hollow excuse," he said. "Nearly everyone in South Korea already supports reunification of the

country."

On a visit to Seoul last week, TIME's Tokyo Bureau Chief Herman Nickel found an Orwellian atmosphere. "When you enter the door to the biggest newspaper, Dong-a Ilbo," he cabled, "you have to watch out that you don't get scraped in the face by the bayonets that two grim-looking paratroopers hold crossed on their M-16s. For obvious reasons, it was hard to get much comment from Koreans. But passers-by appeared visibly startled when they saw the big American-made M-48 tank menacingly pointing its gun from the entrance of the National Assembly. A soldier waved the bayonet of his M-16 at us when we photographed the tank and ordered us to wait for an officer, who fortunately let us go. It seemed an odd turn of events in a land where two decades ago 34,000 Americans died in what was then billed as the defense of the free world."

SOVIET UNION

Short Supplies

In Moscow last week, basic foods were in ominously short supply. To combat hoarding, bakeries were plastered with posters urging DONT BUY MORE BREAD THAN YOU NEED, Potatoses had vanished from government-controlled stores, while in the "free" markets, they were selling for up to 45 kopecks (50e) a pound, or 900% high-rithan the standard state-fixed price.

Shortages outside the capital were more severe. At Moscow's nine railway stations, hordes of villagers could be seen lugging bundles of food homeward. This drain on the capital's supplies had led police to cut train service and confiscate food at the terminals. Last week a despondent traveler told TIME Correspondent John Shaw that he had been caught with 175 lbs, of cabbage he was trying to take to his village. Police seized 150 lbs. of his haul, "I'll be back next week," he said ruefully. Prayda reported long queues at bakeries in Gorky, a major industrial center, while travelers said that in cities as widely scattered as Saratov, Yaroslavl and Kharkov, cereals had been virtually unobtainable for weeks. Northerners from the Barents Sea port of Archangel complained that their rationed potatoes were "not much bigger than peas The Soviet Union is suffering from

its worst food shortages since the crop failures of 1963—as Agriculture Minister Vladimir Matskevich recently acknowledged. Such admissions are rare. As Russian trade officials in Washington pressed last week for rapid delivery of 11 million tons of American wheat and other foodstuffs, the Soviet press maintained silence about the \$1.5 billion worth of agricultural produce



russian Housewives lining up to get bread in a moscow baker "Don't buy more bread than you need."

the U.S.S.R. has contracted to purchase from the West through June.

Distribution of part of these purclases is expected soon to alleviate scarcities of staple foods, specially bread. The Russians intend to mill the finequality American and Canadian wheat for flour. Their own sparse grain crop will be used to provide cattle feed, thut present shortages of feed have forced the Soviets to alsught means the forthe Soviets to alsught the sound the sound of the sound that the sound the the best of times. Although this may provide a temporary bonanza of meat this witner, it will sob diminish supplies

of dairy products.

Bréaking Point. The shortages are caused by a combination of Russia's capricious climate and the country's inflicient system of production and disficient system of production and disference of the country in the country of the was bedeviled by a freak winter, when was bedeviled by a freak winter, when tile snow fell to insulate seeds saginst record spells of frost. This was followed by a drought during the hottest summer of the century. The resulting crop damage and late harvest tared the Sidamage and late harvest tared the Sidamage have the harvest in the breaking point. Trucks. harvesting machinery, railroad cars, granaries and manpower all seemed to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

In August and September hundreds of thousands of agricultural machines, and an equal number shiped to the worst-and students, sweep shiped to the worst-and the students of the superstanding the students of the superstanding the

this year's satisfactory virgin-lands harvest was attributed by *Pravda* to "the wisdom and foresight of our party's agrarian policy."

Still, the cost of that policy is proving huge. The hard currency the Soviets sorely need to buy Western industrial equipment and technological know-how is now being spent for food. In 1972 such expenditures already exceed the value of all Soviet imports of Western technology during the previous five-year plan. The Russians have also lost the \$30 million a year they earned until recently from their grain exports to Western Europe. To make matters worse, prospects for the 1973 harvest look bleak, as planting this fall runs 25% behind schedule. This probably explains the Soviets' ready compliance with U.S. demands that they pay premium rates to American ships that will carry grain and other foods to Russia. Besides this \$180 million deal concluded last week, the Kremlin also agreed to pay \$722 million in settlement of their \$11.1 billion wartime Lend-Lease debt to the U.S. (see Business).

The Soviets are also planning to pour an impressive 21.5% of their total capital investment during the next three years into more machinery, fertilizers and land improvement to increase productivity on the farms. Still. Western analysts predict that the U.S.S.R. will become a permanent importer of grain, unless radical reforms of the agrarian system are undertaken. At the Supreme Soviet meeting in Moscow this fall, agricultural planners expressed their determination to take vigorous but unspecified "measures" to prevent a recurrence of this year's mortifying failures. Last week the Kremlin moved to reallocate 20 billion rubles from other economic sectors to the agricultural budget.

Aeroflot Katastrofy

The long, slim jetliner was trying to land at night in heavy rain at Sheremetyevo Airport, 18 miles northwest of Moscow, and by some accounts was making its fourth pass at the runway. Villagers in the nearby hamlet of Krasnava Polyana (Red Glade) suddenly heard a series of explosions. Tramping by torchlight across muddy potato fields, they found the red and silver tail of the Aeroflot Ilvushin-62 sticking out of a cold brown pond. Beneath the water, or on the fields across which the plane had skidded, were the bodies of all the passengers and crew. Unofficial reports indicated that they numbered 176, which would be the largest loss of life in the history of civil aviation.5

It would also bring to nearly 400 the number of people who have died in Aeroflot katastroty in the past five months. Just nine days earlier, a turboprop Ilyushin-18 carrying 106 known passengers and crew crashed into the Black Sea shortly after takeoff from the resort city of Sochi. No bodies were recovered. Last June a turboprop Antonov-10 crashed near Kharkov in the Ukraine, killing 108, many of them children on their way to summer holiday camp. In addition to the three Aeroflot tragedies, 156 people died in the crash of a Soviet-manufactured Ilyushin-62, operated by Interflug, the East German airline, near East Berlin last August.

When a reporter phoned the Soviet foreign ministry to inquire about the Moscow crash twelve hours after it happened, an official replied: "What crash?" It was another six hours before Tass, the official news agency, reported the disaster, and still another 18 hours before Pravda covered it in twelve lines on its back page. The Soviets had to acknowledge the tragedy because there were 38 Chileans and five Algerians aboard the flight, which had begun as a charter from Paris; if no foreigners had been involved, the crash might never have been reported. News of the Sochi disaster leaked out only after Aeroflot sent letters of sympathy, and symbolic, empty urns to the victims' next of kin, along with 300 rubles (\$333) each in compensation. The Soviet obsession with secrecy-especially about major accidents-naturally breeds suspicions that there may have been other air crashes that went unreported.

Standees. Perhaps to counter international doubts about Aeroflot's safety record, Soviet authorities agreed to let two representatives of the U.S. Air Line Pilots Association visit Moscow to discuss the latest crash. One obvious talking point: Why was the Ilyushin permitto attempt a landing in poor visibility when the airport's instrument landing system was out of action?

Easily the world's biggest airline.

*In July 1971, 162 persons were killed after a col-lision over Japan between an All Nippon Airways Boeing 727 and a Japanese Air Force F-86 Sabre jet fighter.

Aeroflot expects to carry 80 million passengers this year over its 350 trunk routes and 1,000 local services. Westerners find some practices disconcerting. For instance, the line commonly overbooks, and sometimes on domestic flights extra passengers squeeze aboard as standees. The possibility of overloading is increased by Aeroflot's habitual failure to check the weight of hand baggage. Soviet passengers often have as much stashed under their seats and in the overhead racks as they do in the bag-

Many aspects of Aeroflot are difficult to assess. As the civilian arm of the Soviet Military Air Command, the airline is shrouded in security. Aeroflot pilots generally receive the same training -rated good by Western experts-as those in the Soviet military. They also have to undergo a physical examination before each flight. As for its planes, the airline itself clearly has doubts about one of them. All Antonov-10 aircraft, formerly workhorses of the Aeroflot domestic fleet, have been removed from passenger service since the Ukraine

CHILE

Allende Challenged

A pall of tear gas hung over Santiago last week. Soldiers toting submachine guns stood on nearly every street corner. and enforced a midnight-to-dawn curfew. Half the city seemed out on strike -truckers, taxi owners, and even a majority of doctors, dentists, lawyers, engineers, pharmacists and maritime pilots. In a television appeal, beleaguered President Salvador Allende Gossens declared that the country was on "the brink of civil war.

That was probably an exaggeration, though there was no doubt that Allende's regime was facing the gravest crisis since he took power two years ago. What had happened was that Chile's middle classes suddenly coalesced to challenge the government by going out on simultaneous strikes. Allende responded by calling in the army to enforce the law. The military, under growing pressure from Chile's political right to throw Allende out, was so far grimly following orders-at the risk of alienating many Chileans.

The sudden wave of strikes started two weeks ago in the sparsely settled southern province of Aisén. The government had announced plans to set up a mixed government-private highway transport operation there. Angry truck owners-who in Chile are mostly one- or two-vehicle operators-promptly walked off the job, and others, fearful that Aisén was only the first step in a full-scale government takeover, joined the protest. By last week 5,000 truck owners were on strike, severely curtailing shipments of supplies to the capital. Retail store owners quickly shuttered their shops in sympathy with the truckers

The strikes could not have come at a worse time for Allende or the Chilean economy. Inflation for the first nine months of this year is a staggering 99.8%. The price of sirloin steak, on the rare occasions it has been available, has increased 200%; stew beef is up 116%. powdered milk 166%. Wheat and bread are in short supply. Butter has disappeared. But real hunger threatened only momentarily when food stores closed in a strike two weeks ago, until the army ordered them to reopen.

Allende replied to the wave of strikes by extending the "state of emergency"-a measure short of martial law to 21 of Chile's 25 provinces. One thousand trucks were confiscated and five union leaders arrested. Zealous carabineros dispersed strollers on city streets with tear gas or with powerful water cannons that Chileans called guanacos (after a camel-like animal that spits when it is angered).

ANTI-ALLENDE DEMONSTRATORS AT TORCHLIGHT RALLY IN SANTIAGO



At the same time, Allende was clearly on the political defensive. He offered to submit the truckers' demands to mediation and they refused. Then he invited the opposition Christian Democrat leaders to meet with him to discuss ways of ending the strike, only to be rebuffed again. Last week Santiago bus owners threatened to strike and Allende hastened to meet their demands with only minor reservations. He agreed to draft a law guaranteeing that bus transport will remain in the private sector, return three nationalized bus companies to their owners, and drop lawsuits against transport leaders brought during the strikes.

The busmen struck anyway, almost paralyzing Santiago. Meanwhile, the truckers, who had started it all, moved to take advantage of Allende's seemingly weakened resolve. They announced that they were joining with other strikers to present a new set of demands to the government, in effect raising the price that Allende must pay for civil peace.

CANADA

Once More with Feeling

Al a shopping center near Toronto last week, a young girb burst through the security guard around Prime Minister Petrer Elliott Trudeau, 53, and planted a kiss on his check. Another woman on the fringe of the crowd gushed: "He still has the aura." It was hard to believe that Trudeaumain—as Canadians called their particular political fervor four years age—saw again sweeping the week campaign leading up to next week's national election, it was evident that Canadians were still fascinated with their Prime Minister.

Whether they were sufficiently entranced to re-elect him was in fact the major issue of the campaign, since he had acquired as many opponents as supporters during his four years in power. As TIME's Ottawa Bureau Chief Lansing Lamont reported last week. Canadians "remember the sense of expectancy that Trudeau generated in 1968, but have come to realize that he has generally governed Canada with more cautious pragmatism than panache." The Prime Minister was also suffering from television overexposure and a perilously short temper. Once he had demanded of Western farmers: "Why should I sell your wheat?" On another occasion, he rebuffed a group of demonstrators with the sarcastic comment "Where's Biafra?" Still another time, he told a group of striking mail-truck drivers to "mangez de la merde.

Such gaffes might have been politically disastrous for Trudeau if he were not pitted against the Canadian whom many would vote most difficult to elect. Robert Stanfield, 58, an able former Premier of Nova Scotia, is eminently



TRUDEAU & WIFE MARGARET SEATED IN FRONT OF PARTY POSTER IN MONTREAL

qualified for the job of Prime Minister, in every particular except political flair. He seems to be everybody's fumbling, bumbling "Uncle Bob," a gray personality whose speeches seldom arouse the electorate. A traveling rock band and miniskirted "Stanfield Girls" have been recruited to add color to his campaign—but they are not enough.

—out they are not enough.

Stanfield nonetheless has a convincing issue in unemployment. Some 7.1%
of Canadans are out of work. Everyof Canadans are out of work. Everyof Canadans are out of work. Everyunemployment Insurance Commission
(which pays those out of work up to
\$100 a week) is being abused by "welfare loafers"—an unoriginal theme that
Stanfield has incorporated into his camnaign with his call that "it is time to end
unemployment as a way of life across
Canada and aget Canadians back to

Quebec Nationalism. Trudeau proclaims that the major issue is "the integrity of Canada"-meaning a continued place in the Confederation for Ouewhere the separatist Parti Ouébecois won 23.06% of the vote in provincial elections two years ago (but decisively lost two by-elections earlier this month). Trudeau has responded to Ouebec nationalism by trying to assure French-Canadians of a larger role in Canada and particularly in government -which has cost him votes among English-Canadians. They have complained about French signs on post offices, and the use of their taxes to alleviate unemployment in Quebec, which is one of Canada's poorer provinces.

On the other hand, the past four years have seen energetic strikes toward a new and more independent foreign policy. Trudeau beat Richard Nixon to Moscow by twelve months, and Canada established diplomatic relations with China two years ago. Canada under Trudeau has also shown considerable revalue the Canadian dollar and rewrite a pact on auto trade that has worked



STANFIELD (RIGHT) & ADMIRER Everybody's "Uncle Bob."

more in Canada's favor than the U.S. expected when the agreement was nego-tated in 1965. But Canadian nationalists were disappointed by government proposals merely to review takeovers of Canadian companies by U.S. corporations—which already dominate the economy—and not to set up some machinery to keep more businesses in Ca-thiery to keep more businesses in Ca-

nadian hands.
Sill, a third party has generated the most heat in the campaign—the New Democratic Party, which is socialist—the socialist—the properties of the properties of the properties of British Columbia. Manitoba and Saskatchewan. N.D.P. Leader David Lewis has stumped the country accusing "corporate welfare bums" of paying less than their shared stakes and in some cases no tase at laxes and in some cases no tase at laxes and is nown cases no tase to the Components 21% of the vote, the Cononly 15% less than in 1968 when they won 155 seats in the 264-seat House of

The small package was addressed to Singer-Actress Barbara McNair at the Playboy Club in McAfee, N.J., and it had hardly arrived before federal narcotics agents swooped down and arrested her and her husband Rick Manzie for possession of half an ounce of heroin. After their arraignment in Newark, photographers flocked around so persistently that Manzie seized hold of one; then Barbara joined the melee, and it finally took a dozen U.S. marshals to restore peace. Two days later, claiming that her career had been devastated and that many bookings had been canceled, Barbara declared that the whole thing was an inexplicable frameup. "I do not use narcotics of any kind," she said. "I mean, I hardly even drink."

Aside from its 11,649,000 native citizens, the state of Texas claims a number of honorary citizens, including Ara Parseghian and Eva Gabor. The latest notable so honored is Spain's Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, who received a visit from W.H. ("Dub") Jackson Jr., head of a delegation of 80 Baptists arriving for a tour of Baptist communities. "It is heartening in this day of skepticism," said Jackson, "to have [the Spanish] invite our folks to come." As a final gesture, Jackson presented His Royal Highness with a ten-gallon hat and cowboy boots.

"We'll see which one of us he loves more by which song he sings first," said Eunice Shriver as she introduced her guest of honor, Rock Singer Neil Diamond. Eunice and Sister-in-Law Ethel Kennedy had both put in requests at a McGovern-Shriver fund-raising picnic. "This is a terrible predicament-I'm chicken is what I am," Diamond confessed. He tried to escape by beginning with some of his own favorites, then got up enough nerve to swing into Eunice's choice, Sweet Caroline. Ethel responded by creeping up behind the singer and pouring a cup of beer over his head. Thus prompted, Diamond quickly moved on to his next selection: Ethel's favorite, New York Boy.

Norman Mailer shot dead? Through the rear end? With his pants down? It's all just a bit of fiction, said Alan Lelchuk, author of a soon-to-be-published novel in which one character bears that name and suffers that fate. Libel, retorted the real Norman Mailer in a confrontation. "I wouldn't die with my pants down," said he. "You're the fa-ther of us all," Lelchuk protested. "You taught us to go as far as you can with literature." As the meeting progressed, there was "shouting and screaming and yelling," according to one

participant, but Lelchuk refused to eliminate the scene. "Lelchuk. I don't ever want to meet you in an alley, Mailer warned, "because if I do, you're going to be nothing but a hank of hair and some fillings.

In Gorham, Kans., to shoot a new Peter Boadanovich movie called Paper Moon, Ryan O'Neal carried on devotedly with his newest co-star. That was only natural, since she is his nineyear-old daughter Tatum (by his first wife, Joanna Moore). The pair amused a group of school children by performing balancing tricks along a deserted railroad track, and when Tatum earned more applause than her father. O'Neal remarked, "I guess it's natural with her. Her mother was an actress and so was my mother. It's in the family. Asked for her own views on acting, Tatum ventured, "Yes, I like it, but I'd rather play with my kitty, Alley O.'

With his attractive wife Hjördis on his arm, Actor-Turned-Storyteller Duvid Niven flew into London to plug his autobiography, The Moon's a Balloon. and disclosed that he has nearly finished his first novel, which he calls his "secret project," Next month, armed only with "an absolutely appalling desire to be frightened," he comes to the U.S. for a tour of the college lecture circuit. His

DAVID NIVEN & WIEE HIÑDDIS



RYAN O'NEAL & DAUGHTER TATUM



topics? "I haven't a clue to what I'll be talking about. I'll just improvise on the spot, I think."

THE TRUTH ABOUT MY MARRIAGE, said the headline of a story in which Joan Kennedy unburdened herself to the Boston Sunday Herald Traveler and Sunday Advertiser, On Ted Kennedy: "I am more in love with him than ever." On rumors about other women: "I am bored to tears with gossip about Ted and his so-called illicit romances. I simply go in and ask him about them and that's all." On rumors about Ted and Amanda Burden: "Pure nonsense. Of course I know Amanda. Not intimately. but we've met at parties." On sympathizers: "I am fed up with people who refer to me as poor Joan."

Outside the Soviet embassy in London, Hayley Mills joined in a demonstration for the liberation of Lyudmilla Prussakova, pregnant Russian Jewish woman who has been arrested several times since she and her husband tried to emigrate to Israel. Said Hayley, 26, now wife of Producer-Director Roy Boulting: "I am doing this for humanitarian, not political reasons. I am expecting a child in January, and I can understand the feelings of any woman who is in the same position.

HAYLEY MILLS & DEMONSTRATORS







Southern Comfort now outsells all but 44 of the 12,829 brands of distilled spirits*

Outsells all brands of liquor of all types except: 6 vodkas, 5 gins, 13 Bourbons, 9 blends, 5 Scotches, 4 Canadians, 1 brandy and 1 rum. Source: according to published industry rep





*because it tastes so delicious

Make this simple taste test and you'll know why so many people have been switching to Southern Comfort. It will also show you how to make better tasting drinks. First . . . fill two short glasses with cracked ice. Pour a jigger of Bourbon or Scotch into one. Sip it. Then do the same with Southern Comfort. Sip it, and you've found a completely different kind of basic liquor . . . one that actually tastes good with nothing added. No wonder so many experts use S.C. instead of ordinary whiskey when mixing drinks. They know this "switch" improves most drinks tremendously. Get a bottle; try it in your favorite. Like Sours? Make both of the recipes shown below. Then compare them. The very first sip will convince you!

ordinary SOUR

1 jigger (1½ oz.) Bourbon or rve 1 teaspoon sugar 1/2 jigger fresh lemon juice

Shake with cracked ice; strain into glass. Add orange slice on rim of glass and a cherry. Now use recipe at right. See how a simple switch in basic liquor improves this drink.

Make both recipes . . . prove it to yourself! improved SOUR

1 jigger (1½ oz.) Southern Comfort

1/2 teaspoon sugar 1/4 ligger fresh lemon juice

Mix like ordinary recipe Then sin it Southern Comfort's delicious flavor makes a remarkably better-tasting drink. Comfort* Sour as it's mixed at the Hotel Mark Hopkins in San Francisco

rice: 754, 2 for \$1.00

address to: Cocktail Hour Enterprises Dept. T. Box 12429 St. Louis, Mo. 63132 Offer void in Canada an

WHAT IS SOUTHERN COMFORT? It's a special kind of basic liquor. Long ago in old New Orleans, a talented entleman was disturbed by the taste of even the finest whiskeys of his day. So he combined rare and delicious today as Southern Comfort. Its formula is still a family secret, its delicious taste still unmatched by any other liquor. Try a bottle; find out how good it tastes straight, on-the-rocks, or in highballs.

Also available in Canada, SOUTHERN COMFORT CORP. 100 PROOF LIQUEUR, ST. LOUIS, MO. 63132

On September 13, Ford Motor Company and 6,035 Ford and Lincoln-Mercury dealers announced a new goal:

No unhappy owners.



Here's what's happened since.

We listen.

And we're concerned about a very real problem in the car business. Unhappy owners.

So several weeks ago, we took a first step toward solving our share of

the problem.

We published the message shown at left. And we also ran it across the country. With it, we did two things.

We began inviting unhappy owners to come forward. And we outlined a system for helping to get their problems solved.

WE INVITED.

YOU RESPONDED.

Almost immediately, things began to happen.

Owners of our cars did respond. And still are.

That's fine with us. It shows that our program is already beginning to work. That people are taking it seriously.

A CORRECTION: WE SAID 6035 DEALERS. MAKE THAT 6283.

When we made our first announcement, 6035 Ford and Lincoln-Mercury dealers were behind the program. Within a few days, that figure jumped to 6283.

Which means that as of this writing, nearly 95% of the dealers are solidly behind the program.

behind the program.

And that's good. Because they're the key to achieving the goal.

ONE POINT NEEDS REEMPHASIZING: WHAT TO DO IF YOU'RE UNHAPPY.

When we set up our system for solving the problems of unhappy owners, we created something nobody else had. A whole new Ford Customer Service Division. Designed to help straighten out problems the customer and the

dealer can't.

Well, almost the instant we made the announcement, the Customer Service Division received a barrage of letters.

Which means, in effect, that people are short-circuiting the system. Doing Step Two first. And completely bypassing Step One.

The dealer.

There are some very good reasons

why it's to your benefit not to do that.

SEE THE DEALER FIRST.

HIS SERVICE DEPARTMENT HAS A NEW LOOK.

We feel confident that most service problems that come up will end where they should. With the dealer. Because along with the technician, the equipment and the tools, he now has a whole new way of giving service.

A SERVICE QUALITY GUARANTEE.

No unhappy owne

We guarantee

our service work for

90 days or

whichever

comes first.

4000 miles,

Every single one of the 6283 Ford and Lincoln-Mercury dealers is now guaranteeing his service work for 90 days or 4,000 miles, which-

ever comes first. If his repair or replace-

ment fails in normal service within that period, it will be fixed free of charge. Parts and labor.

And that guarantee goes, whether your car is still under warranty or not. So if you've got a problem, bring it in. If it's covered by new-car warranty,

it will be fixed free.

If not, yes, you will pay for the job.

But you can be assured of first-rate
work. And in most cases, your problem
will end right there. If it doesn't,
bring your car back again, the job is
guaranteed.

There's more, too.

A REPORT CARD.

Attached to your service bill, you'll find another good incentive for improvement. It's a report card. What you do is take it home and grade the service you got. Then send it back. It goes right to the dealer himself.

If you're not happy, say so. Loud and clear. That way he can do something to correct the problem.





THE TECHNICIAN WILL SIGN THE JOB.



the goal of "No unhappy owners." The people who do the work are, too. So from now on, when you go to pick up your car, you'll find a card with your technician's name on it.

NOW-IF YOU'VE BEEN TO THE DEALER AND YOU STILL HAVE A PROBLEM-

This is where Step Two comes in. The Customer Service Division. And, quite frankly, with the changes the dealers

trankly, with the changes the dealers have made, you shouldn't have to use it. But if a situation arises where all the dealer can do isn't enough, by all means, get in touch with the Customer

Service Division.
Write. Describe your problem. Tell
them you want action. A Ford Customer
Service Division representative will
contact you quickly. And he'll work

with you and the dealer to try to straighten things out. If you own a Ford, Mercury or Lincoln, it's something to think about. And if you don't, it's really something to think about.

FOR THE ADDRESS OF THE CUSTOMER SERVICE DIVISION OFFICE NEAREST YOU CALL TOLL FREE: 800.243.6000

N CONNECTICUT 1 800 882

If you want information about our cars and trucks or if you want to know where we stand on safety, emissions, quality control—anything—

Write: Ford Motor Company Listens, Box 1973, The American Road, Dearborn, Michigan 48121.

Let us know what's on your mind. We listen better. And we'd like to prove it to you.

Our goal: No unhappy owners.





TENACE HITTING DRIVE



CINCINNATI'S CATCHER BENCH MAKING TAG

SPORT

World Series: Superfreaks v. Superstars

T would be difficult to find two teams more different in mode, mood and deed than the Oakland Athletics and the Cincinnati Reds. Oakland, champion of the weak-sister American League, had come to be thought of as Finley's Freak Show, after Owner Charles O. Finley. They adorned themselves with flowing manes, mustaches and green-and-gold uniforms reminiscent of the Gay Nineties. The players feuded among themselves sporadically and with Manager Dick Williams constantly. They just barely won the pennant in the American League, struggling through five tough games to defeat the Detroit Tigers, who have grown considerably long in the tooth. At the top of this gallimaufry was the biggest flake of them all, Owner Finley, who carried his team round the country for years looking for a nice home before settling in Oakland. Finley personally leads the cheers in the stands like some mad Roman emperor.

Favorites. The rival Cincinnati Reds were something else again. One of the classiest teams in the classier league, they had defeated the World Champion Pittsburgh Pirates for the National League pennant. They had the bulk of the superstars on their side, names like Catcher Johnny Bench, Second Baseman Joe Morgan, Outfielder Pete Rose. Their uniforms were modest, their locks a model of tonsorial tidiness. Ironically, they played a wild, freewheeling brand of baseball, while the A's tended to play a more conservative game. Cincinnati speed and power made the Reds solid favorites at the start of the World Series. Yet the A's startled everyone by jumping off to a 3-1 lead in games, and only a magnificent rally by the Reds forced the most exciting series in years to a full sev-

The A's started the series with a major handicap. They had lost Slugger

Reggie Jackson (25 home runs in 1972) in the final play-off game against the Tigers when he severely ruptured a hamstring muscle while sliding into home plate. Enter Catcher Gene Tenace (five home runs in 1972), who began the season on the bench and only won his job from Dave Duncan in the past couple of months. Tenace quickly silenced the sanguinary Reds fans in the opener. lashing home runs in his first two trips to the plate to set a new World Series record. Oakland managed only two more hits all day off three Cincinnati pitchers, but they were enough. Ken Holtzman and Relievers Rollie Fingers and Vida Blue checked the Big Red batters with seven hits (only one for extra bases) as the A's took the first game 3-2.

The following day Tenace stepped aside for more likely heroes: Leftfielder Joe Rudi and Pitcher Jim ("Catfish") Hunter, Rudi, the most consistent hitter on the A's and a contender for the American League batting crown, belted a long drive into Riverfront Stadium's left-field stands for what proved to be the deciding run. Rudi made sure of that in the ninth by climbing high up the left-field wall to rob Denis Menke of a run-scoring double. The remarkable catch earned Rudi a place in World Series history next to Al Gionfriddo, who robbed Joe DiMaggio in 1947, and Willie Mays, who did the same thing to Vic Wertz in 1954. Hunter, a 21-game winner last season, threw a six-hitter to give Oakland a 2-1 victory

The teams sped to the West Coast, Oadad loose and laughing. Clincinnati tight and brooding. "I've said all along it would take us six or seven games to win," insisted Reds Manager George ("Sparky") Anderson. But that sounded like whistling past his own graveyard; no team in World Series history had loost the first two games on its home

field and gone on to win the series. Meanwhile, the A's mound staff had thrown mittfuls of sand into the Big Red Machine. The Cincinnati offensive relied on the ability of its first three hitters-Rose, Morgan and Centerfielder Bobby Tolan-to get on base before Johnny Bench brought his booming bat to the plate. Over the 1972 season the trio had scored a total of 317 runs, while Bench had smacked 40 homers and driven in 125 runs (tops in either league). But in the first two games the threesome had reached base only five times in 25 at-bats, and Bench was cast in the unusual role of leading off an inning six different times. Said Rose, glumly: "We don't make money when Bench is hitting with no one on.

Oakland fans, high on their first flush of pennant fever since Finley & Co. arrived there five years ago, packed Oakland-Alameda County Stadium (something they have rarely done) and screamed wildly for a series sweep by the Athletics. But Cincinnati proved too tough for that. After a day of near monsoon rains that turned the field into a marshland and caused the postponement of the third game, Cincinnati's Jack Billingham squared off against Oakland's John ("Blue Moon") Odom in what was to be the tightest pitchers' duel in essentially a pitchers' series. While Billingham and Reliever Clay Carroll blanked the A's with three hits, the Reds got clutch hitting and base running from Tony Perez and Cesar Geronimo in the seventh inning and emerged with a precarious 1-0 triumph.

Chess March. There were reasons other than pure pitching prowess for the power failure of two hard-hitting ball cubs. Television, assual, had made the team owners offers they could not refuse, and the games were scheduled to be played during prime TV time in the populous. East, that meant that they projute is the projute that the populous that the projute that the projute that the projute the players, squinting in the gloom, bitterly blamed for the fact that 21 betters struck out that evening. With the third that the players of the project proj

How to pick the best color portable from Sears or anyone else

Will you sacrifice color quality by getting a portable instead of a console?

Not at all.

On Sears 19-inch (diagonal measure picture) color portable. for example, you'll get the same color quality as you would from a console, Electronically they're basically the same.

Regardless of what color portable you buy, the two most important questions to ask are:

How good is the color? How easy is the set to tune?

One button tuning and why Sears uses it.

One button tuning is the most important tuning innovation in color TV in years.

Simply by pushing one button you can automatically adjust (1) automatic fine tuning, (2) color, (3) tint, (4) contrast, and (5) brightness. Previously each had to be adjusted individually.

Not all brands have one button tuning. Or

if they do. their one button may control only two or three functions. Not all five.



At Sears. five different tuning we call our one button tuning OBC-for One Button Color. It controls all five functions.

Push the OBC button on Sears portable and you'll automatically get good natural-looking skin tone color, together with good background color.

A unique Sears advantage.

With Sears One Button Color you get a unique advantage. Even after you've pushed the

OBC, you can still adjust skin tones, color, contrast and brightness to your own individual taste. We purposely designed into

our OBC a degree of flexibility.

Reason: people have different preferences when it comes to color. Some people may prefer skin tones on the ruddy side. Others, not.

Sears OBC enables you to make your own adjustments. With other brands, you may have to call in a serviceman to have him reset controls preset at the factory.

Sears portable also has: KEYED AUTOMATIC GAIN CONTROL -helps keep your picture from fluttering when conditions change, e.g., when a plane flies over.

PEAK AUTOMATIC CHROMA CONTROL - helps keep colors from fluctuating when programs change, or you change channels. AUTOMATIC COLOR PURIFIER

- helps keep colors clear and pure. Black matrix picture tube, wide screen picture, other features.

A black matrix picture tube is one in which the tiny red, green and blue dots that make up the picture are surrounded by black, not gray, for a more vivid color picture. Like

portable has the black matrix tube The wide screen picture can enable diustments, Making skin you to see more of the televised picture than

other innova-

tions, Sears

you saw before. It too comes with Sears portable. Snap-out modules are printed circuit boards with transistors,

diodes and tubes. They snap out easily for fast repair service. Sears uses

them in their color portable. Ask about

service before you buy.

Be sure to ask about service before you



buy. Not all retailers service the sets they sell. Sears does.

And you can count on Sears service, whether you move across the street or across the country.

In fact, we even check out every set purchased from one of our stores before delivery. Not all

retailers do the same. Should Sears 19-inch (diag. meas. picture) ever require service, we'll service it in your home. Not every retailer offers in-home service for portables of this size.

In addition to our set with OBC, we have many other portables and consoles to choose from in our stores and catalog

Prices start under \$220 You can use one of our Sears. Roebuck and Co. credit plans.

When you consider features, service and Sears dependability, you get a lot more with Sears color portable than just One Button

into Sears

today. ...

Features	Sears		Brand A				Brand C	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	N
One Button Tuning	V		2000	1000	010	1000		13
Black Matrix Picture	V		(C.)					
Wide Screen Picture	V							
Instant Start	V							
Light Diffuser Screen	V				2000			
Snap-out Modules	V							
Nationwide Service	V							



Why a diamond is forever.



Tons of rock must be crushed to find one little diamond. When it comes from the ground, a diamond is only a dull crystal.

But, if in this rough form it is judged to be of high quality, it is chosen to be part of the small percentage that are gem diamonds.

85 times harder than a ruby or sapphire, it needs another diamond to cut it.

Cutting is a long, painstaking process, involving a thin disc coated with oil and diamond dust. It is also an expensive process, since about half of the original rough diamond is lost during the work. This loss comes from the cutter's effort to give the diamond its most beautiful shape and to remove natural imperfections.

58 facets are created to give it three characteristics unlike any other gem on earth.

These 58 facets give each diamond three veryspecial qualities. Brilliance—the reflection of light back into the eye of the beholder. Fire—the division of light into colors of the spectrum. And scintillation—the power to twinkle at the slightest move.

No matter how big or how small a diamond is, it carries the weight of 3,000 years of legends. The big diamonds, like the Hope and the Great Star of Africa, aren't the only ones that have earned wide renown through the centuries.

Queen Victoria, who owned many fantastic jewels, favored her tiny diamond engagement ring given to her by Prince All Bert, and one of the most annual diamond given by Victor Hugo. Moved to cuare by a performance of Sarah Bernhardt's, he gifted her with a diamond drop, to symbolize his tear.

A diamond is forever. A big promise for one little diamond to live up to. Taken from below the earth, every diamond is crafted to become the most cherished gem on earth. Beautiful, individual and indestructible, like the love it symbolizes.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.

ginning to show signs of strain, the serices turned into something of a chess match between Managers Anderson and Williams, Wolse locks are as leonine as any of his players', kept written tabs on Anderson's strategic line-up-changes. He made a number of substitutions himself, notably at second base, where he has alternated as many as four men a game.

In general the managers jockyed wisely, with Williams seeming to get the better of the duel. His finest moment came in the last inning of the fourth game, when he sent three pinch hitters to the plate. Each promptly produced a single. Those hits, added to a single the service has the second by the terror Tenace (who eventually tied a record by hitting four World Science home runs), brought Oakland a last-minute 3-2 victory and an all but un-beatable edge.

All but. The next afternoon, in the makeup game, it was the Reds who provided the ninth-inning histrionics. With the score tied 4-4, Rose singled Geronimo home from second to keep the back on their home ground, the Reds ended their drought. Led by Bench, who his his firs home run (and thus nothed his first Run) of the series. Cincinnati batter to the control of the series of the control of the series of t

Rumanian Rhubarb

At times, it looked more like street rioting than Davis Cup tennis. Indeed, the cup finals, won by the U.S. last week on the rust-red clay courts of Bucharest, seldom even resembled the mannerly game perfected in 1873 by Major Walter Clopton Wingfield as a diversion for English society.

The U.S. had previously won the

cup four years in a row. But this year few experts gave Captain Dennis Ralston's charges much of a chance of defeating the wily and temperamental Rumanians. Ilie Nastase and Ion Tiriac, on their home grounds. In the face of rowdy fans and the worst officiating this side of Olympic boxing, only a superlative performance by Army Specialist Fourth Class Stan Smith, 25-who won both his singles matches and teamed with Erik van Dillen, 21, to take the doubles-enabled the U.S. team to eke out a 3-2 victory. Said a disgusted Cap-tain Ralston: "We've been under the most incredible circumstances ever. This is the toughest place to play I've seen anywhere

Smith showed his class in the first match against Nastase, 26, keeping his cool while the gallery of 6,500 partisan fans shouted "Hai, Ilivata" ("Go, little Iliet"). Nastase, an army lieutenant and the closest thing Rumania has to a matinee idol, ran the gamut of his storied anties. He danced back and forth while waiting for a serve, interrupted play to swat at a fly with his racket, and soccer-

kicked a ball to the sidelines. The crowd lapped it up, but Smith refused to be shaken. Leading 10-9 in the first set, he responded to a Nastase charge at the net with a soft lob that landed on the baseline to give the American the set. The gallery quickly piped down, and was not heard from again as Smith went on to win in straight sets 11-19, 6-2, 6-3.

"Liniste." Triac, 33, proved even more outrageous than his countryman, retiring to the backboards to sulk when-ever a call went against him. That did not happen often. At one point Smith served a clean econly to have a Ruma-evid a clean econy to have a Ruma-a linesman belatedly ruled that an obvisually and Triac serve was out—only after Smith had whipped the return past the Rumanian. The calls became so bad that the referee, Enrique Morea of Agrentina, took the unprecedented step of





STAN SMITH DURING CUP FINALS

expelling one of the linesmen. He would most of the stadium. The fans repeatedly ignored pleas for "liniste" (slience), and cheered wildly at every American mistake. When the small American section offered up cheers, the rest of the gallery that the temerity to show indignation; one Rumanian fan shouted, "Quiet! It's not a baseball game."

But for sheer unattractiveness, nothing quite matched Triac's attack on James Van Alen, a patriarch of American tennis, Objecting to what he thought was razzing. Treat or thought was razzing to the control of the con

EDUCATION

We Put It All Together

Its hall is decorated with a picture of Malcolm X and the red green and-black flag of black liberation. As its leader strolls down the corridors, he frequently greets his pupils with the black-brotherhood handshake. This is no revolutionary institution, however, but a Catholic parochial school. Holly Angels, one of the largest and most unusual in the U.S. It is both strict and successful.

Holy Angels' 1,300 students all come from Chicago's crumbling South Side ghetto, home turf of the feared street gang, the Black P Stone Nation

Bellamy: "If you shoot spitballs in class or throw trays in the cafeteria like you do in public school, you're really in trouble. You might get paddled or have to work in the cafeteria all of lunch period, so you don't get a chance to play."

Parents welcome the discipline. Says James Smith, a diesel mechanic who has sent four children to Holy Angels: "In public schools, the kids come home with their heads busted open from fighting, and they also have drug problems. I don't have to worry about that at Holy Angels." Adds Teacher Lucille Whitehead, who also has sent four chilhim a saint." One of Clements' first actions at Holy Angels was to recruit a black staff, including the Rev. Paul Smith as principal of the parish school. Clements also installed a new altar inscribed with what has become the parish slogan: WE PUT IT ALL TOGETHER —BY QUISEST VES

To carry out that boast. Smith organized parents, teachers and children to help rebuild the school. They repainted rooms in bright colors, made new classrooms out of an old storage closet and an unused back entry, and knocked out walls in the cobwebbed basement of to create space for a library of \$5,000 volumes, mostly discards from the Chicaeon public library.

To avoid interference by the conservative officials of the archdiocese, Clements has made the once subsidized school completely self-supporting. Its meager \$375,000 annual budget comes entirely from tution, supplemented by public drives such as the one now raising funds for additional air conditioners. The 34 teachers (17 of them nums) must clean their cown elastropour

Now Holy Angels is preparing to expand, but in its own peculiar way, to accommodate the hundreds of students it turns away for lack of space. The parish has leased an abandoned railroad embankment that towers three stories above the school grounds. Parents gathabove the school grounds. Parents gathered on recent weekends to help clear ered brush and weeds, and next year the parsish will install six mobile classrooms. Says Clements: "This is going to be our school in the sky."



FATHER CLEMENTS & PUPILS AT HOLY ANGELS SCHOOL IN CHICAGO The three Rs are reading, religion and racial pride.

Their parents, half of whom are on welfare, must promise in advance not only to pay \$18 a month but also to attend monthly P.T.A. meetings and welfay Mass—even though less than half of them are Catholic. "This is a Catholic school first, not a community school," declares the black parish priest, the Rev. George Clements. "We want them to set an example for their children, and we want non-Catholic parents to understand what their children are learning stand what their children are learning stand what their children are learning the control of the control o

 dren to the school: "Parents are more cooperative. In public schools, kids do whatever they feel like doing and many parents don't seem to care. At Holy Angels, they even call if their kids don't have homework."

In defiance of much modern educational theory, the combination of drill and discipline seems to work splendidly. In the two years since Clements came to Holy Angels, its students in grades four through eight have raised their scores on standard tests to about the national average, while those at a nearby public school still score two grade lev-

The church and school that Clements took over had long been drifting toward ruin. Erected in the 1890s when the neighborhood was heavily Irish, the buildings were in sad disrepair, attendance and revenues dwindling rapidly. Clements, 41, was a native of the South Side and an active militant who once declared Martin Luther King Jr. an unofficial sain! *Decause blacks have made

Rebellious Youth?

What do young people think about the world? One answer was provided last week by the publishers of Who's Who Among American High School Students, an annual directory of 105,000 class presidents, valedictorians and other "leaders." Some results:

More than 80% approve of President Nixon's policies, and 47% plan to vote for him (37% favor George McGovern).

to vote for him (37% favor George McGovern).

The students give the Government low marks only in the field of pollution control: 82% think it is not doing

enough, and 93% voice the same criticism of industry.

As for sex, 71% say that they have never engaged in intercourse, and 49% want to marry a virgin.

Drugs? Seventy-two percent report that they have never tried marijuana, and 68% say that they would not do so even if it were legal, but 77% say drugs are readily obtainable in their communities.

At home, finally, 81% say that they have happy family lives.

For a generation that is supposed to be greening America, the high school students seem surprisingly conventional. Or perhaps the youths who get into a Who's Who have simply learned how to answer questionnaires.

MEDICINE

Up from Depression

The Danish theologian-philosopher Sören Kierkegand called despair "the sickness unto death." His description also applies to the severe psychiatric illnesses once labeled melancholia by Freud. These are not the down moods that plague everyone occasionally, but immobilizing and devastating conditions that often cause physical signs and symptoms like loss of appetite and weight, insomnia and slowness of body movement.

Psychiatrists have long suspected that there is a physiological basis for severe depression. They know that thyrotropin-releasing hormone (TRH), a substance released by the hypothalamus at the base of the brain, triggers the production of thyroid-stimulating hormone (TSH); now, they hypothesize that it may have another function as well. Drs. Arthur Prange Jr. and Ian Wilson of the University of North Carolina School of Medicine and the North Carolina department of mental health have found that TRH, which can be synthesized in the laboratory, seems to function as an antidepressant. They have used it experimentally to provide apparently safe relief to patients suffering from severe depression.

Short-Term Lift. Their findings, reported at a medical meeting in Co-penhagen, grew unt of studies of TRHFs pharmacological effects on laboratory animals. When the studies of the studies of trust of the studies of the studies of trust of the studies of trust of the studies of

In subsequent studies, also at Dorothea Dix Hospital, ten other women responded equivocally to saline injections, but favorably to TRH when the two were administered in alternate sequence over a two-week period; no other medication was administered. Other experiments conducted independently reinforce those of Prange and Wilson. A team of researchers headed by Drs. Abba Kastin and Rudolph Ehrensing at the Veterans Administration Hospital in New Orleans reported in Lancet that its members administered TRH to five patients. All experienced relief from depression to some degree, and in at least two cases the improvement was marked.

The researchers cannot fully explain why TRH works. The preliminary results have been so encouraging, however, that further investigation is demanded. Most drugs now used to relieve the symptoms of depression can produce undesirable side effects. TRH so far has produced none.

Hidden Pregnancy

Because the risks of certain medications and diagnostic procedures are not fully understood, doctors are especially cautious when treating pregnant women, frequently altering prescript and the process of the process

Hospital is a long bus ride away.

The project's one bright spot since 1965 has been the Columbia Point Health Center. Organized by Tufts University Medical School with federal funds, the center has provided a variety of high-quality medical and social services. After the clinic's first two years of operation, a survey showed that 91% of the people thought that the medical care available to them was "good" or 'very good," Now the 1,130 families are in danger of losing the clinic altogether Reason: chronic and bitter controversy between professionals in the center and black community activists in an unstable environment. It is the kind of fight that occurs all too frequently in and around ghettos

Tufts has abolished its department



DENTALCLINIC

COLUMBIA POINT HEALTH CENTER

A battle-fatigued casualty of crime and political warfare.

recommend that all women of childbearing age be tested routinely for pregancy in a doctor's office or when admitted to a hospital. The experience of two hospitals that have done this on a trial basis supports the proposal. Securjus of 229 patients of the proposal. Securtion of 220 patients of the proposal Secur-Lenos. Hill. Hill and the proposal security Lenos. Hill. Hill and the proposal security Lenos. Hill the proposal security of the protact of the proton of the proton of the protact of the proton of the proton of the proton of the protact of the proton of the proton of the proton of the proton of the protact of the proton of the

Siege at Columbia Point

Built on a former garbage dump that thrusts into Boston Harbor, the Columbia Point Housing Project has never been an appealing place. The stark, institutional-style buildings and their cocupants—one mostly impovershed been appeared to the proper start of the project and Boston City of white pensioners—are isolated both geographically and culturally from Boston proper. There are no private doctors in the project, and Boston City of preventive medicine, which originally sponsored the center, and has encouraged patients to look elsewhere for care.

Four of the clinic's seven doctors and all of its social workers have quit out of fear and frustration. Though lastminute negotiations have stopped the other professional staffers from following, the center's chances for survival are dim.

are dim. — et al. et al

Even more damaging has been the political warfare, with Tufts and the

Amid all the talk about luxury cars, one simple fact stands out. Cadillac commands the greatest owner loyalty of any American-built car. Figures continuously show that the percentage of repeat Cadillac owners is among the highest in the automobile industry.

The most loyal car owner in the land.

The real question is: Why?

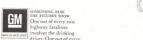
Why do the overwhelming majority of Cadillac owners return to Cadillac when they are ready to buy another car?

Cadillac owners themselves give many reasons.
Riding comfort. Resale value (traditionally
the highest of any car built in the land).
Dependability. Handling case. Quality of
workmanship. Performance. Durability. Styling.

But it all seems to add up to one thing owner satisfaction. In the car. And in the men who sell and service the car. If you don't feel this kind of loyally toward the car you are presently driving, maybe it's time you visited your authorized Cadillac dealer. Maybe it's time for you to drive a Cadillac.

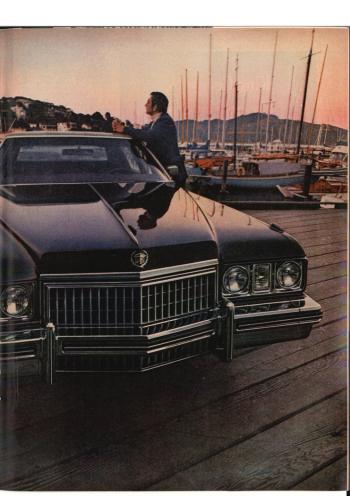






two. Please, if you drink, don't drive. Thank you. Cadillac Motor Car Division.



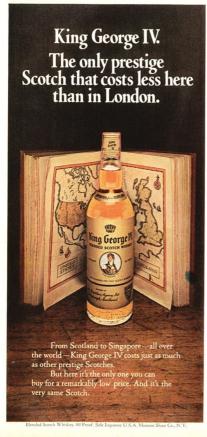




medical staff on one side and militant critics from the community, most of them black, on the other. A loosely knit elected body called the Columbia Point Health Association often speaks for the clinic's opposition, though some attacks have come in the form of anonymous leaflets charging incompetence and insensitivity. The controversy reached a crisis point last spring after the then administrator, Leon Bennet-Alder, a frosty Englishman who had litto cut costs and personnel he considered superfluous. He also attempted to fire a black business manager whom he accused of gross incompetence. Bennet-Alder became the target of threats by phone and leaflet. Then, on the way to work one morning, he was bludgeoned so viciously that his skull was shattered. There was no attempt to rob him, and the identity of the assailant remains unknown. Bennet-Alder recovered and left the center:

the business manager still has his job. Angry Wolves. One of the gut issues continues to be white-collar jobs for project residents, Dr. Jack Geiger. the center's creator, points out that pumping large amounts of cash-the current budget is \$1.4 million-into a desperately poor area is risky. "It's like throwing a pound of meat to 50 angry wolves," he says. "They'll kill each other to get a bite." But racial pride and sensitivity about the condescending attitudes of some white professionals are also crucial factors. Gloria Nelms, a black former psychiatric counselor at Columbia Point who is among those responsible for the leaflet attacks, charges that "Bennet-Alder did everything possible to keep the Health Association from developing the ability to run the center. He also cut off training for paraprofessionals from the community. Opposition from some quarters in the community is virulent. Even some of the newer black administrators are being pilloried for "the same plantation mentality as the whites who came

Help has now arrived with the intervention of Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), a citywide agency that has replaced Tufts as the administrator of federal funds for the center. The group is heavily staffed with blacks and is determined to rally Columbia Point residents in support of the clinic. ABCD is trying to enforce some of the efficiency measures started by Bennet-Alder but is imposing them gradually. It has also hired a black as acting administrator and persuaded the remaining staffers to stay for a while. The agency, says ABCD Director Bob Coard, "is not about to retreat from involvement in Columbia Point because of a few faceless saboteurs." Coard may succeed, but for doctors like Fleishman, the retreat is final. "I got battle fatigue," says the physician, "after 61 years of hassles with everyone.





HOST PAHOPIN WITH SOCIAL EDITOR MARION YOUNG IN T-T-Y-6 STUDIO

MODERN LIVING

Neighborhood TV

Like other TV viewers, the residents of Parker Towers, an apartment complex in the New York City borough of Queens, can tune in to a numbing variety of national and local television shows. But the 1,350 families in the Towers can also watch programming that is more local than most it is telements in the basement on their own television station, T-T-V-6.

By turning to Channel 6 on week nights between 7 p.m. and 8:30 p.m., Parker residents can see other tenants and their children and pets, neighborhood merchants, cops and politicians in a mélange of TV shows produced entrely within the apartment complex.

The undisputed star of T-T-V-6 is Andy Pahopin, 51, the chief maintenance man of Parker Towers, whose apartment is conveniently located a few doors away from the 9-ft. by 11-ft. TV studio. In addition to being host and chief interviewer on many of the programs, Pahopin has his own "Uncle Andy" show, which features Parker voungsters dancing, singing and-at times—complaining about their parents on-camera. A 5-ft. 10-in. black-haired extravert whose previous show-biz experience is nil, Pahopin suffered a twinge of self-doubt when first offered the job, but is now having a splendid time. "If I have to keep on doing five nights a week, I'll do it," he says, "But I don't want to take the spotlight from other tenants too much. Overexposure can be detrimental-look what happened to Milton Berle.

Apart from Andy's show, there is enough activity to keep T-T-V-6 Cameraman Amon Schneider, 16, fully occupied during the early evening hours. Patrolmen and firemen drop by one night a week to lecture. An A.S.P.C.A. representative will soon begin appearing on-camera to offer a "dog of the week" for adoption and give advice on pets. There will also be political debates.

For a time, Pahopin had hopes that Marion Young, a housewife with an English accent, would become the Parker Towers version of Rona Barrett -and he initially introduced her as such. But Marion would have none of it. Instead, she specializes in engagement announcements, weddings and traveling tenants. A recent flash: "Welcome home, Flora Mae Birge, from your Caribbean cruise. Too bad you couldn't take along your poodle to eniov it with you." Marion explains that her husband objected to the Rona Barrett billing. Besides, she says, "I really didn't want to gossip and spread grief -we don't need someone to delve into each other's affairs."

When Pahopin and crew are not on the air, the camera is focused on a studio clock, and on dials and gauges connected to rooftop instruments that tell the wind velocity and direction and the temperature just outside Parker Towers. Occasionally, the camera is switched to focus on cards advertising the wares and services of local merchants, who can buy three months of spot commercials for \$150 (more than 40 have already signed on).

Little League. No Nielsen-like poll of the audience has been carried out since live programming began in early October, but an eleven-year-old resident named Ricky Neuhoff already has an index of his own. Planning an auction to raise money for muscular-dystrophy research, Ricky sat in a Parker Towers lobby one Sunday afternoon. "I asked all the people going in and out if they watched the station," he reported, "and I found out that 49% didn't and 51% did." Impressed by the viewership, he decided to advertise on T-T-V-6. But when Station Manager Hal Goldstein. 22, found out about the poll, he offered Ricky a guest spot to talk up the auction (which netted \$63.45).

T-IV-6 reaches TV sets in the apartment complex through the master-antenna system. It was installed and is maintained by a small firm named Ten-Tel-Vision, an offshoot of a firm called north-of-vision, which specializes in Orth-O-Vision, which specializes in the state of the st

In that spirit, T-T-V-6 plans to add to its repertory soon such neighborly shows as Little League ball games and other sports events conducted on near-by playgrounds and reports on community activities. Eventually it will also show first-run films, for which subscribers will pay an extra charge, and—if Host Andy Pahopin has his way—a special featuring a belly dancer.

Up in Arms

DUTE GENERALICH is one of the few designers to see the funny side of fashion. The topless bathing suit was a typical Gernerichian prank—and it drew plenty of publicity. When he unveiled his spring line in New York City last week, Gernreich brought the house down with a four-deved dress. It was down with a four-deved dress. It was not to the development of the properties of the service of the s





Spare Clarity

Wabi is one of the key ideas in traditional Japanese culture. It has to do with spareness, poverty and austerity. A teahouse, made of bare, unlacquered wood, with its straw thatch and river stones, displays wabi. Wabi is the rough, salty irregularity of a classical tea bowl. the plain twig in a flower arrangement. the coarse black cotton of a kimono. Its meaning extends beyond the sphere of aesthetics into a more general discipline: it suggests an uncluttered and precisely lived life in which the individual is brought into a clear relationship with nature and with his society. No matter how sumptuous or even exclusive they may be, the masterpieces of traditional Japan stake their existence on this perfect clarity of image and technique. Such is the lesson of two fall exhibitions of Japanese art, seen at its utmost pitch of refinement. One is a selection of 235 works of the Rimpa school-scrolls, screens and lacquer-at the Tokyo National Museum, the other a show of inros, netsukes and sword guards from the Charles A. Greenfield collection at Manhattan's Japan House.

Boneless Brush. The word Rimpa means, literally, "school of precious gems." Though the Rimpa school spanned 250 years and produced some of the finest decorative art Japan-or the world at large-has seen, its members were few and their identity often vague. Its founder was Hon'ami Koetsu (1558-1637). In 1615, a warlord gave Koetsu some land in the mountains around Kyoto. The artist laid out a village there: papermakers, dyers, weavers, calligraphers, lacquer masters and painters settled in it, with Koetsu presiding over them all. The collaborations that followed make it excruciatingly hard to determine which artist did what painting; Koetsu's style is almost indistinguishable from the early manner of his pupil Sotatsu

Koetsu and Sotatsu reacted against the hard, linear, brushpoint drawing derived from the Chinese that dominated Japanese art in the early 17th century; instead they used the mokkotsu or "boneless" technique, dropping pigment into wet pigment, staining and mottling the shapes of flowers, twigs and thunder-god with infinitely subtle gradations of color, preparing the paper with washes of gold or silver dust or with a snowy, glistening mixture of eggshell white and flakes of mica. These hallmarks-which must in their time have seemed very "Japanese," in elaborate contrast to the austerities of Chinese brush technique-helped form the Rimpa style, and were superbly developed by Ogata Korin, born a century after Koetsu. A part of Korin's signature (see calligraph) is now used as the symbol for the Rimpa style.

Korin, it seems, was one of those exquisitely chic and talented spendthrifts whom the Japanese remember with fond envy. The son of a wealthy artistmerchant in Kyoto, he dissipated a fortune by such gestures as wrapping his box lunch for a cherry blossom-viewing picnic in costly gold-leafed and painted bamboo sheaths, then nonchalantly flinging them away into the river. But he was no dilettante. Korin's work embraced most mediums, even the decoration of plates, on which he collaborated with his brother Ogata Kenzan to produce works like the hexagonal iron-brown dish bearing a figure of Juro, the dumpy little god of longevity. Korin had an almost miraculous sense of materials; witness his writing box, with a design of irises, pool and bridge. The iris leaves and stems are gold lacquer, the flowers mother-of-pearl inlay, the bridge columns are rendered in silver while the planks, which run diagonally



across the lid and down the sides, are dull inlaid lead. What Renaissance casket would not look fussy and florid beside this container? But it was in painting that Korin's virtuosity showed; especially in his screen Red and White Plum Trees. It is to Japanese decoration what Matisse's Red Studio is to modern decorative art.

Elegance. For Korin used traditional motifs: the S curve of the river, for instance, and its stylized scrolls of water, refer back to 16th century Momoyama screens. Yet he infused these motifs with a new, tense elegance. The line of the white plum branch, dipping down and then shooting up off the top of the screen, is electric. The river, boldly placed to unify the two separate screens, swirls with energy. Indeed, later artists bestowed his name on this way of painting water. "Korin waves" recur in a long screen of gray cranes by Suzuki Kiitsu (1796-1858). A copy of a Korin (now in the Freer Gallery), Kiitsu's frieze of birds, with their dipping beaks and stilted legs, is a distillation of variety in unity. Sakai Hoitsu's (1761-1828) screen of Thirty-Six Immortal Poets is virtually a compendium of Rimpa techniques and virtues: the sprightly drawing of flower and tendril; the formal presentation of each poet in a separate cartouche, as in a print. In his more realistic vein, as in a screen de-

picting Flowering Plants of Summer, Hoitsu possessed epigrammatic powers of observation: the fronds bend and bow under the summer rain, weaving a delicate lattice of green against the now tarnished silver ground. With the Greenfield collection at

Japan House, scale and focus change: it is a triumph of the small. "Intima-

cy" here is more than a catchword, for nearly every item in this array-reputedly the best private collection of its kind in the world-was designed to nestle in the hand, and their ravishing tactile subtleties are lost behind glass. The largest are Suzuribako or writing boxes: a 16th century case with a goldlacquer hare, or Kinyosai's delicately humorous image of a lady spurting ink from her mouth onto a wall to form the characters for "perseverance in love Carved Toggles. Often in the

West, miniatures compel the worthless gawking one reserves for Last-Suppercarved-on-a-peach-stone kitsch. Not in Japan, where the image and the scale were one-partly by a happy fluke of social pressure. The Imperial sumptuary laws forbade merchants and samurai to wear excessively rich garments, so male vanity expressed itself in three special kinds of objects: inros, the tiny compartmented cases for carrying seals, or later medicine; netsukes, the carved toggles that fastened the inros to one's sash; and tsubas, or sword guards. The amount of craft lavished on these small things almost surpasses belief. So, often, does their sculptural quality: witness Issan's tiny, writhing red dragon netsuke. To complete his inro bearing the motif of a Chinese ship, Ritsuo (1663-1747) had to apply some 80 coats of lacquer-the dangerously toxic sap from a Japanese relative of poison ivy. Lacquer is slow drying; it had to be left for days or even weeks between coats, and laboriously burnished with charcoal and powdered deer horn. To examine these objects is to realize how vast a language of craft has been lost to Japan, and to the world,

since the 19th century The instinct for design required a counterpoint between the case and its toggle (usually made by different artists). Over the centuries, most inros have lost their netsukes, and one of the delights of the Greenfield collection is the care with which appropriate matching has been restored. Thus a war helmet and mask on Koma Kyuhaku's 18th century inro are complemented by a fierce little demon mask with ivory horns. In a sense, the extreme limit of aestheticization was reached by the makers of tsubas. Considered merely as an object, the 19th century sword guard of the blue-black copper alloy known as shakudo, inlaid with gold maple leaves (the gold patchy, as in autumn), is sumptuous enough. But the idea of dving with so delicate a work of art attached to one's stomach by two feet of razor-sharp steel could only have arisen in Edo Japan. Robert Hughes



Below left: lacquer writing case by Kînyősai, early 18th century. Below right: unsigned lacquer writing case, 16th century





Ogata Korin, 1658-1716: "Red and White Plum Trees"



Suzuki Kiitsu, 1796-1858: "Cranes"







Sakai Hoitsu, 1761-1828: detail from "Thirty-Six Immortal Poets"



Ogata brothers' dish (ca. 1700)





Dragon netsuke by Issan, 18th century



Sakai Hoitsu: "Flowering Plants of Summer"

Vaudeville Rock

Whither rock? If the salad days of Dylan, the Beatles and their near peers constituted its high renaissance, rock music has now evolved into a florid and self-conscious rococo period, which is also, sad to say, often decadent. Once the sound was what mattered mostrhapsodizing players would even turn their backs on the audience, and "performance" was almost a dirty word. Now the show is everything. A few rock groups share the evening with stand-un comedians or clowns and trapeze artists to liven up their act. Some musicians wear mime makeup and practice ersatz Marcel Marceau. Others appear in full drag-flowing scarves, highheeled wedgies, false eyelashes, mascara, lipstick and cheek-clinging glitter. With the revolt long since gone out of the music, what is left is really a new kind of vaudeville or sometimes a freak show-occasionally first-rate, frequently diverting, but too often merely repulsive. Items:

▶ Alice Cooper is the name of both the leader and the group that have climbed to infamy as the chief practitioners of what can only be called Grand Guignol rock. The discovery of Frank (Mothers of Invention) Zappa. Alice the group is a gaggle of allegedly straight males who started out by pretending to be transvestites. Now they are into horror and, as they describe it. the purging of the evil within the souls of their young fans. Alice the leader sometimes throws live chickens to the audience, axes dolls to death, carries a snake that sometimes works its way between his legs with phallic suggestiveness, wears a straitjacket, and in final mock penance has himself executed either in a blinking electric chair or on a full-size gallows.

"Violence and sex sell," says Alice.
"That's our appeal. The audience knows
I'm parodying what they see every day
on television. We're the ultimate American band—the end product of an affluent society." Once in Muskeson.

Mich., the offspring of that society tore Alice from the stage, ripping off his clothes and jewelry. Nursing a cut on his back, Alice chirped: "They're like piranha fish. I like an audience that's

Who is Alice the man? If Alice himself still knows, he is not talking. His real name is a closely guarded secret. probably to protect the reputation of his father, who is a Baptist minister in Arizona. What is known is that the singer is a wiry, bleary-looking ex-track star who once won a 26-mile marathon race, then keeled onto a street curb nose first. His still flattened nose is a constant reminder of that day, especially when he walks into a multimirrored bathroom of the 40-room mansion he owns in fashionable Greenwich, Conn. The mansion also sports swastika flags on many of the ceilings, as well as a mansize doll hanging by its neck in the ballroom. When concert tours and promotional appearances do not beckon. Alice can usually be found in his Greenwich "pad," curled up in an armchair with a six-pack of beer, seeking further inspiration from his TV set.

Alice's reputation, plus the group's music—a tight hard-rock blend of unmerciful drumming, lush piano playing, deft guitar work and the leader's own Transylvanian vocal whine—have made \$1,000,000 sellers of their last three Warner Bros. LPs—Love It to Death, Killer and School's Out (a free pair of bikini panties is included with that album).

• Rod Stewart is one of the two or three finest and most popular of the current crop of English pop composer-singers, a wise, witty, upbeat force who neatly counterpoints Mick Jaggers displays one of those rare voices rapsy, surcharged cross between Joe Cocker and Rod McKuen—that is instantly recognizable and that can draw all sorts of emotional mage from his unre Tella & Sorry as well as standards by Dylan (Only a Holoo) and Elton John (County Contrort). As a some-time member of the good-time British rock-in-roll band known as Faces, he is one superstar who is out mostly to have fun. That includes giving a humorous zing to his guitar playing, handing bottles of wine to lucky members of which we have funded and place-kicking forgist case of the property of t

Stewart and the Faces recently made two U.S. tours with a company of acrobats, clowns and trapeze artists. billed as the World's First Rock and Roll Cyrcus. Among other acts, Cyrcus included the Martinez Flyers, who missed their double flips on purpose, and Ming Wong, who stripped off 15 ki-monos while hanging 100 ft. above the floor by her ball.

Dr. John, the Night Tripper, high priest of voodoo rock, whose music is often eerily grisly and whose personal appearances are usually heralded by the lighting of torches and a processional of undulating dancers. His gaudy, African-style headdresses are woven out of ostrich feathers, vines, ivv and snakeskins. Dr. John's music is a pulsating blend of African and Caribbean rhythms and dry-throated incantations. As it turns out, Dr. John comes from New Orleans, and his latest ATCO LP. Gumbo, is a personal nostalgia trip, a rollicking pastiche of voodoo, rumba, Dixieland and good old Mardi Gras stomp. If his high skill shows the inventive, assimilative style of a virtuoso studio musician, it is because Dr. John used to be just that under his real name, Mac Rebennack

▶ Cheech and Chong are the Amos 'n' Andy of Rock, even if one is of Mex-

DAVID BOWIE AT CARNEGIE HALL



DR. JOHN IN PUERTO RICO





ican heritage and the other Chinese. Stand-up rock and droll is their game, and each can assume a hundred different voices and roles in talking about the things that matter most to their young audience-marijuana, wine, cops, rock concerts, records and radio. One of the characters Cheech parodies is a rubberthroated disk jockey named Wink Dinkerson of station KRUT. Dinkerson's spiel is far-out and solid: "Hi there, groovy guys, groovy girls. Peace love dove peace bells, incense, light shows, crash pads, and Hare Krishna, all you groovy freaks." As president of the United Heads for Hemp, Chong begins a TV interview: "Some people say grass makes you lose your memory...Uh, wow, I forgot what I was gonna say." Cheech and Chong (real names: Richard Marin, 26. Tommy Chong, 34) surfaced nationally a year ago. Wherever they give concerts, usually with one or two rock acts on the bill, the S.R.O. sign is out. A far cry from the days when, says Cheech, "the only comic relief in rock was when the public-address system went out.

▶ David Bowie is a hugely gifted British singer-composer-guitarist who at once embodies and transcends the new vaudeville. Bowie boasts, in interviews and in songs, of his bisexuality, affects orange-hued hair, laced highheeled hoots and moves in feline contrast to his heavy rock beat. At 25, he is an ex-actor and mime who is currently on his first tour of the U.S. It began with a surprise sellout in Cleveland. Then came an overwhelming success in Manhattan's Carnegie Hall, where Bowie, in a British music-hall voice, parodied Andy Warhol, sang about the bisexual life (Width of a Circle) and invoked rock's new vogue for

Bowie looks like an extra directly out of A Clockwork Orange-an effect heightened intentionally at the start of each concert by the use of white, jabbing strobe lights and the playing of the electronic version of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony from the sound track of the Stanley Kubrick film. If Kubrick posed the threat of futuristic shock, so does Bowie, His recent RCA album, The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars, is perhaps the most portentous concept LP since the Beatles' Sgt. Pepper. It anticipates a cataclysm of worldwide proportions that could be World War III, pollution overkill or an invasion from outer space. Bowie is not very clear on the subject, and it does not really matter, since the cataclysm is in effect a megaton metaphor for the confusion and pessimism Bowie sees in much of the rock world today. Ziggy Stardust also chronicles the rise and eventual assassination of a rock-'n'roller who is partly Dylan, Jagger, Stewart and Alice Cooper, but mostly Bowie. "I know that one day a big artist is going to get killed on stage, and I keep thinking that it's bound to be me," says Bowie, with a Grand Guignol touch of his own.

Silent Decisions

When the Supreme Court begin is in sew term, one of its traditional opening tasks is to dispose of cases on which it does not want to hear full arguments. One incredible day earlier this month, it interested the second to the court interested and halfway through the month it had dealt with \$24. Such is its position, however, that even when the court rules summarily or refuses to hear a case, observers often try to read answers of a sort into these silent decirations of the court of the second training star week.

▶ Does a woman have a right to an abortion? Twice this year, Connecticut laws against abortion have been reject-



KISLEY AT HIS MASSAGE PARLOR A charge of sex bias.

ed in a federal court. But the Justices stayed the latest ruling against the law stayed the latest ruling against the law pending their own decision on two othpered to the property of the stayed that the pending their own decision on two othpered that the Justices will eventually declare convinced that the Justices will eventually declare convinced abortion bans unconstitutional. Until then, however, most abortions in Connecticut can still result in prosecution, on except the property of t

▶ Can the U.S. limit the 'importation of propagoada from Viet Nami' U.S. customs officials impounded English language newspapers sent from North Language newspapers sent from North erans and Reservist for Peace in Viet. Nam. The Supreme Court has already rejected a ban on all Communist program, abut this time the Government invoked the 1917 Trading with the Engry Act. arise properties of the 1918 that the U.S. consideration of the Peace in Viet. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the license requirement

for enemy goods could indeed be applied to propaganda material, though it must be fairly administered. The Supreme Court decided not to interfere. The material thus remains impounded by customs.

▶ Is it distriminatory to han womner from treating men in massage purloar² So argued Robert Kisley, who has purloar² So argued Robert Kisley, who has proposed to the proposite set, which, according to Kisley, violates the equal by a member of the opposite set, which, according to Kisley, violates the equal ment and the 1964 Cfull Rights Act banning sex discrimination. The court declined to consider the matter. The next day police raided one of Kisley's places in the opposite set, "or with "massaging the opposite set," or with "massaging the opposite set," or with "massaging the opposite set," or with "massag-

Gothic Tale

Stanley Berent was born with his armless hands growing directly out of his shoulders, and he is known, in the cruel world of the carnival, as "Sealo the Sealboy." Norbert P. Terhune is a dwarf, 3 ft. 6 in. tall, billed as "Poo-Bah the Pygmy." Both of them worked for World Fair Freaks and Attractions. a sideshow that toured various Southern county fairs. In the summer of 1969 World Fair was preparing to open in North Bay Village, near Miami, when the local police threatened to prosecute under a 1921 state law against freak shows, which calls for up to a \$1,000 fine or a year in jail. Freak shows have been in a long de-

cline-there are only five such shows of any size left-but a number of states still have laws designed to protect citizens from displays of deformity and to protect the deformed themselves from exploitation. Berent and Terhune were not grateful. Along with World Fair, they went to the Florida Supreme Court to argue that the state was interfering with their right to make a living: neither, despite their normal intelligence, had been able to find any other job. By a 6-to-1 vote, the court found: "It may be that certain malformations, perhaps those relating to private areas of the body or some which may be repulsive or vulgar in nature, would so affect the morals and general welfare as to lend themselves to a prohibition." But this was not so, said the court, in the case of a dwarf and a "sealboy." Declaring the law unconstitutionally broad and imprecise, Justice Hal Dekle ruled that "one who is handicapped must be allowed a reasonable chance within his capacities to earn a livelihood." For Terhune, 46, who was appearing last week in Beaumont, Texas, this meant he could work again without harassment in Florida. But Berent, the seal-

boy, retired last year at the age of 70.

After I realized my Skinny Mini was skinnier than I was, I lost 75 pounds.



I was a whopping two feet, two inches wide hip-wise. And my Frigidaire Skinny Mini was only

So, not surprisingly, my day of fate came as I was standing in front of my Skinny Mini, loading the washer with dirty clothes, and the dryer with just washed clothes.

washed clothes
Mary Ellen, my little three-year-old, asked,
"Mommy where's the stinnie-ninnie?" She couldn't
see the Skinny Mini behind nugh it's got a
two-speed, two-cycle washer. With four
wash and rinse temperature combinations.
Two feet wider With three soil settings

and a Flo-Through Lint Filter.

And my 120-volt Skinny Mini runs on normal

house current.
The dryer even has a two-position fabric selector for all kinds of clothes...both heat and non-heat air fluff settings. It stops when the clothes are dry and buzzes to let me know it's stopped. And both the washer and dryer have Permanent Press cycles!

All this and more, and it was skinnier than me.
Skinny Min controls right in the eye. I think I made it happy because I didn't overshadow't anymore.



Every Frigidaire is not a refrigerator.

How Paul Baron's \$150 burglar alarm sold out for a 19° marrow bone.



98 years' experience have taught us that no one alarm device will foil a determined burglar. Not a guard dog. Not a buzzer. Not a "little black box" hooked up to police headquarters.

This is why we select a precise *combination* of devices (from the world's largest inventory) for every job we install. Why we custom-tailor our system to a family's way of life. And why we maintain more Central Alarm Stations, which can send help at a minute's notice, than anyone else in the business.

This isn't the cheapest way to prevent burglary and fire. But we've found it's the best. (It better be—we protect the U.S. Treasury, the Smithsonian and Cartier's.) And you might be surprised to learn that we'll protect your home and family for as little as \$500.

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The Security Company

THE PRESS

Who's for Whom

Most U.S. newspapers are owned by Republicans, and the majority of publishers remain G.O.P. loyalists on their editorial pages. But not since the trade weekly Editor & Publisher started keeping track 40 years ago has a Republican presidential candidate enjoyed such an overwhelming edge in endorsements as Richard Nixon does this year. By the beginning of October, reported E & P. 548 dailies with combined circulation of 17.5 million had come out for Nixon's re-election, while only 38 with 1.4 million circulation had backed George McGovern. The trend was continuing last week, and Nixon is certain of a much bigger editorial edge than in 1968, when he was favored by 634 dailies (circ. 34.5 million) to 146 (circ. 9.5 million) for Hubert Humphrey.

In the traditionally Democratic South, McGovern is taking a particularly bad beating. Even the Abilene (Texas) Reporter News has endorsed Nixon, the first time it has gone for a Republican in 91 years. The only Southern papers of any size to opt for Mc-Govern so far are Little Rock's Arkansas Gazette and Louisville's Courier-Journal. Elsewhere, Nixon enjoys a solid majority of editorial votes in the Midwest and a virtual stranglehold on the West Coast. In New England, the sole prominent daily to declare for Mc-Govern to date is the Pittsfield (Mass.) Berkshire Eagle (circ. 30,519).

Serious Question. Among major papers that amonued their choices last week, the Philadelphia Inquirer and Los Angeles Times came out for Nixon. McGovern, said the Times. Is "weaked property of the nation's place in the world." But the St. Louis Post-Dispatch expressed its diseasent, saying that McGovern "offers a philosophy of decenpress of the propers of the prope

LIFE, one of the few magazines that formally endorses candidates, declares for Nixon in its current issue. The editorial says: "The Nixon Administration, despite its one glaring failure in foreign policy—the long stay in Viet Nam for less and less—and despite some sizable shortcomings in domestic policy, does have an impressive record of accomplishment." LIFE credits Mc-Govern with "admirable qualities of compassion and courage," but concludes: "Some of his statements on foreign policy and defense have sounded either uninformed or frighteningly naive. Most damaging of all, his indecisiveness and his impulsive rhetoric have raised a serious question as to his personal capacity to handle the responsibilities of the presidency.

Black Perspective

In the beginning there were Ebony. Jet and Tan, magazines published by John H. Johnson to reflect and shape the aspirations of America's black middle and working classes. More recently, expanding racial consciousness -and the acknowledgment that blacks are now an upwardly mobile advertising target-have produced such magazines as Essence, Black Sports, Black Enterprise, Black Theater and Black Scholar, each keyed to special interests. Even black male chauvinists and swingers have something to look forward to: due out in the near future. With a score of national magazines now addressing the black audience, what terrain remains to be covered?

Volunteer Copy. The answer is now being published as Encore, designed to be a news monthly for blacks. More precisely, says Editor Ida Lewis, Encore is a "magazine not just of so-called black news, but of all the world reported from a black perspective." The tilte was chosen, site says, to denote "a further interpretation and the precise of the world reported from a black perspective." The tilte was chosen, site says, to denote "a further interpretation and the needs of black people." An ambitious goal, but the initial issues indicate that Encore may be succeeding.

Lewis is an experienced journalist whose work has appeared in LIFE, L'Express and the Washington Post. Ousted from the editor's chair at Essence during an intramural feud last winter she raised \$40,000 and volunteer manuscripts from friends, and brought out an inaugural issue of Encore in May. Among the unconventional contents: a debate between Black Poet Nikki Giovanni and Soviet Poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko over possible racist resonances in the term "Black Power"; an interview with Chinese Author-Physician Han Suyin on Women's Lib in Mao's Cultural Revolution; and an "Encore Document" (now a regular feature) entitled "America: Neither Black Nor White," which included essays by George McGovern and black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and American

Encire began monthly publication in September and, with an exclusive story on discontent among West Indian British soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland, introduced amounts of first-hand foreign coverage. The October hand foreign coverage, The October in the Company of the Coverage of domestic affairs include sections on the Coverage of domestic affairs include sections on the Coverage of domestic affairs include sections on the Coverage of the Coverage of

Indian spokesmen.

The audience is envisioned as educated and affluent; the voice is sophisticated, managing to tread the line between stridency and complacency, advocacy and disinterest. "It's given that we're black," Lewis says, "so we don't have to shout it from the housetops." Occasionally the balance totters. A brief summary of the life of Haitian Leader Henri Christophe is hagiography, not history; a story captioned Racism in the White House" rehashes familiar material and lapses into a truculence at odds with the magazine's generally judicious tone ("Garfield was perhaps the only nonracist President in the history of the United States").

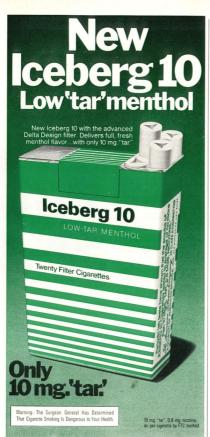
Encore's approach has attracted the part-time services of such skilled black journalists as Maynard, a 1965 Nieman Fellow who is soon to become associ-



"ENCORE'S" LEWIS WITH POET GIOVANNI All in the family.

ate editor and ombudsman for the Washington Fox, and New York Finer Reporter Earl Caldwell, a principal in the Supreme Court decision on the sub-poenaing of newsmen (TIME, Oct. 16). Executive Editor Owen Wilkerson, 20, a veteran of the now defunct Newark. Exening News, recalls the firstitations he met in the white press. When he once mentioned Harrier Tubman in a story, has white editor thought that the pre-Cruil Var underground railroad heroine Horne, Al Encore, Wilkerson asys, I deel liberated.

There has also been a measure of reader enhusiasm. Press runs of 75,000 for the first two issues sold out in major cities and netted 4,000 charter subscriptions. The magazine has attested some national advertisers, and Lewis expects the break-even point to come by early next year. Meanwhile, Encore has been getting by with credit, a bank loan and low overhead. Lewis



THE PRESS

views the proliferation of black magazines as a healthy sign and is confident that Encore will supplement-not compete with-the others. Says she: "We're all part of the same family.

Short Takes

▶ On the Sound and On the Shore have been on the rocks. A pair of slick leisure monthlies catering to those who live near Long Island Sound and Delaware and Chesapeake bays, they were foundering for lack of financing. Happily, the crisis was only temporary. Editor Roy Rowan announced last week that Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp. (Family Handyman, Natural Gardening) will take over the two magazines, pump more than \$1,000,000 into circulation promotion. and revive On the Sound (circ. 50,000) in December, after a two-month recess. On the Shore (circ. 25,000) will

resume publication later.

▶ Only 14 months ago, James W. Brady took his reputation for brass and innovation from Women's Wear Daily to Harper's Bazaar. He soon won the titles of publisher and editorial director and set out to shake the frilly fashion monthly to its lingerie. Brady replaced conventional models with recognizable people posing against busy street backgrounds to show how fashions would look outside the salon. Trouble was that this approach merely irritated many women readers who wanted to get a straight, uncluttered look at the clothes. He brought a daily newspaper's intensity to Bazaar's leisured shop and introduced a gossipy, current news-fashion section. Serious nonfiction received more space than before. Circulation (409,000) remained static, and advertising continued to slide (off 80 pages for the first ten months of this year). Last week the parent Hearst Corp. abruptly gave up on Brady and named two executives from its other magazines to replace him. Advertising Director Thomas Losee Jr. of House Beautiful became Bazaar's publisher, and Anthony Mazzola, editor in chief of Town & Country, moved in as editorial boss. The prospect is for a return to more traditional couture coverage. Brady, 43 and unemployed, took off still insisting he knows it all. Advertising is about to rise, he insisted, and his approach represents "the fashion magazine of the future, immensely superior to the pious essays, second-rate poetry and bad fiction of many women's books."

▶ Nothing so useless as yesterday's newspaper? The Minneapolis Star is running full-page house ads declaring that "the Star will work on your yard Lay the paper flat and anchor it, the adadvises, for erosion control. Or use it as a compost-pit liner: "It is good to have woody material like newsprint decomposing in your soil." Moreover, says the Star, "newsprint ink is like dessert. The ink contains valuable trace minerals in the seaweed-derived binder.



CARDINAL KROL (CENTER, HOLDING CROSIER) DURING VISIT TO AUSCHWITZ

RELIGION

Pilgrim in Poland

Some came on foot from the surrounding villages, carrying crosses and banners emblazoned with the names of bears and traits. At least 150,000 strong, they pushed shoulder to shoulder past the rusty barbed-wire fences into the Auschwitz Birk-enau externinate the Xar hell. The pilgrims had come to honor one of those dead, a Franciscan firar named Maximilian Koben had stepped forward one day in 1941 least of the Company of the least of the Company of the Company

Kolbe was put in a starvation cell with nine others, then finally dispatched on Aug. 14, 1941 with an injection of phenol. Justa year ago, in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, Pope Paul VI had decard him "Blessed," the most important single step in creating a saint. Lust week's celebration in Poland marked week's celebration in Poland marked cheek's celebration in Poland marked chee

he said haltingly, "for the gift of lite." Bruss-Band Welsome. Shortly afterward came a memorial Roman Cathiolic Mass. The principal celebrant. a graying, robust man whose lean, lined Polish worshipers, was John Cardinal Krol. Archbishop of Philadelphia. Krol's father had come from Poland, and the cardinal won the crowd immediately by addressing them in flumediately by addressing them in fluprisoner in a concentration camp." he said. "I was never captured or exitled. I never suffered [your] scourges. I bow my head."

Four other cardinals joined Krol as pilgrims to the Kolbe memorial at Auschwitz, including Poland's Primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, and John Cardinal Wright-the only other American cardinal, besides Krol, ever to enter Communist Poland. But it was Krol's visit that became the gala pilgrim's progress. When he arrived in his late father's home village of Siekierczyna, Krol was greeted by several dozen horsemen in the 17th century uniforms of Polish cavalry, who led him grandly to a brass-band welcome amid throngs of cheering villagers. After Mass in the village church, the cardinal welcomed

at least 50 relatives in the parish house Krol's visit was more than an oldhome week for a Polish-American cardinal. In 1966, when Poland celebrated its 1,000th anniversary, both Krol and Pope Paul VI were denied permission to visit the country. Krol's welcome now is just one sign of a thaw between Poland's overnment and the Roman Catholic Church. On two fronts, those relations seem to be getting better. Last summer the Vatican appointed six longtime Polish administrators as the regular bishops of dioceses in former German territories, thus recognizing the Oder-Neisse line that West Germany had acknowledged in its 1971 treaty with Poland. On the home front, Party Chief Edward Gierek has accommodated the hierarchy by abolishing a law requiring bishops to keep inventories of all church assets, and by returning churches and convents in the former German territories to church ownership.

Cardinal Wyszynski-whom Krol has invited to visit the U.S.-is still not happy with the building permits that he has been able to scratch up from the authorities for new churches. Only 37 are currently authorized, though some Polish parishes must run Masses all day long on Sundays to accommodate the crowds. An invitation to Pope Paul VI in the future, since it could embarrass the government by revealing the strength of Polish Carbolicism.

New Rabbis for Israel

The two chief rabbis of Israel are among the most powerful men in that country-and indeed in world Judaism. One is the spiritual leader for Israel's Ashkenazic Jews, the other the religious master of the nation's Sephardic Jews.* Each is entrusted with the complex and often controversial task of ruling on Halakhah-Jewish religious law -for his people. In Israel, where rabbinical authorities totally control such matters as marriage and divorce for Jews and influence their behavior in many phases of public life, the rulings are often critical to the very functioning of society. Last week the two elderly incumbents in the offices, one 86, the other 76, were voted out of office and two new rabbis elected by a special Israeli electoral college

Chosen to head Israel's Ashkenazic Jews was Shlomo Goren, 54, former chief of army chaplains and Ashkenazic chief rabbi of Tel Aviv. New leader of Israel's Sephardic Jews is the Sephardic chief rabbi of Tel Aviv, scholarly, Baghdad-born Ovadia Yosef, 52.

Both Goren and Yosef enjoy wide popularity, partly because they are both more Israeli in outlook than their predecessors. Goren won some of his fame as a flamboyant warrior rabbi who doggedly earned his paratroop wings after breaking his leg in his first jump. During the Six-Day War, he made a point of trying to be first wherever he went

*Ashkenazic Jews, who take their name from the medieval Hebrew word for Germany, spread throughout Europe and to the Americas Sephardic Jews came out of medieval Spain; early Sephardim arrivals in North America formed the Irist Jewish communities in what is now the U.S.

CHIEF RABBIS YOSEF & GOREN



The blackboard is obsolete.

For 500 years, teachers have been standing in front of their classes, writing with chalk on a blackboard.

Today's teacher has another

choice. She can drop a videocassette into a little machine.

Instantly, the lesson she wants to teach appears on a TV set in front of the class—in color,



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Learning by watching TV! It's a dream-come-true for our television-reared generation of vounasters.

It's a dream-come-true for our

teachers.

Because, until now, classroom TV hasn't been very flexible. With over-the-air programs whatever was on, was on.

If the teacher wanted to do Verb Endings, but that morning's program was on Vowel Sounds

-too bad

The Sony U-matic Videocassette System lets her decide.

What should be watched. And when. And how often. And

by whom.

That works right in with the trend to "open classrooms" small groups within each class learning at their own levels.

What equipment is needed? Aside from a TV set - any TV set - just a U-matic Videocassette

machine.

You plug it into the TV set. Drop a book-sized cassette into the machine. And the program's on.

The videocassettes can be bought or rented from dozens of educational distributors.

Already there are thousands of titles—from Mother Goose to Sex Education.

Most exciting of all, the machine can record your own program—like a science show or a school play—on a blank videocassette.

You use an inexpensive TV camera, and you can play the cassette back immediately.

Like books (and unlike educational broadcasts) cassettes can be stored for reference.

Like books, they can be sent

through the mail

Imagine what they can do for kids unable to attend classes.

For teacherless study in high school and college.

For "correspondence courses" that are just like being there.

In a few years, perhaps, there'll be a U-matic in every living room. You'll walk in and see your kid

glued to the TV set.

You'll smile and tiptoe out. He's doing his Math homework.



color videocassette system



—to the Wailing Wall, for instance, where he sounded the shofar (the traditional ram's horn). He is also admired as an astute scholar and consummate finder of Halakhah loopholes that more easily accommodate Orthodox observance to a technological world.

Youe's wide respect results partly from his editying family life (three of his eleven children are themselves rabs), mainly from an immense resultion that made him a rabbinical-court judge able to talk on Halakhah for hours on end, citing obscure Talmudic judgmens without any notes at all. Though strictly Orthodox, Yosef can hand down opinions that have a liberalizing effect, as he did recently when he ruled that slacks cat the miniskirts for Israeli army girk, earth an miniskirts for Israeli army girk.

Driving Jeeps. The two men will need to heal a rift between religious and secular Israelis that has been exacerbated recently by sectarian disputes and narrow rabbinical vision. Religious control over marriage law has prompted some legislators to suggest a limited civil marriage law. Goren now asks that the bill's backers postpone introducing it for a year "to prove what we can do by way of sophisticated interpretation of the law to accommodate both religious and nonreligious Jews. "Perhaps, says Goren, "we can create a whole new atmosphere and build a bridge of love between the two communities of the population." When he was chief rabbi of the army, Goren found a way for Orthodox soldiers to drive jeeps or operate equipment such as radar on the Sabbath by pointing out the soldier's compelling duty to preserve Israel's security. In a like vein, says Goren,"if it is essential [for an Orthodox policeman] to control traffic on the Sabbath, then the way must be found to do it within Halakhah.

Some differences between secular and religious Israelis are likely to remain unresolved, however. Both Goren and Yosef oppose the amended Law of Return, which considers all Jewish converts to be Jews. The new chief rabbis both insist that only Jews converted strictly according to Halakhah (including a ritual bath for both men and continued to the property of the p

Because most of the world's Jews (Itll) \$48% jn 84 Ashkenazim, it is Goren who will have the larger internation of the world of the world of the project is to convoke a worldwide council of rabbinical scholars, both Sepharopiet, in a spirit of understanding and the standard of the world of



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So we've engineered a car to help change things a little.

It's a car with a 2-liter electronically fuel injected engine designed to give you increased performance over last year, yet meet or exceed exhaust emission standards set for 1974.

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And it's a car with front-wheel drive, for better control, traction and handling on any kind of road.

It's also a car with rack and pinion steering, the most precise steering system there is, and power-assisted four-wheel disc brakes, for confident fade-free stops. We make it huge on the inside, and compact on the outside.

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ENVIRONMENT

Votes on Pollution

"Clear the air! clean the sky! wash the wind!" —T.S. Eliot

Those words, expressing the grief of the women of Canterbury at the murder on the control of t

The clean-water act, which aims to end all water pollution by 1985, called for up to \$24.6 billion in spending over the next three years, mostly on sewage-treatment plants (TIME, Oct. 16). That is almost three times as much as the President wanted, and therefore, he working. "Any vote against his veto, he added, would be "a vote to increase the likelihood of higher taxes."

Whatever the merits of Nixon's argument-and environmentalists do sometimes tend to ignore the price of their proposals-the President had few supporters. His own environmental administrator, William D. Ruckelshaus, had pointed out that the money could be spent over several years and urged Nixon to approve the legislation. Congressional Democrats spoke vehemently. Senator Edmund Muskie saw the veto primarily as a gesture in support of industrial polluters, and Senator George McGovern said the Administration's whole record on pollution was one of "hypocritical platitudes coupled with spineless inaction." Within two hours of the veto message, the Senate overrode the President by a vote of 52 to 12, and the House followed suit by an overwhelming 247 to 23.

All in all, the President proposed 25 environmental measures but pressed hard for few of them, and apart from the water bill, Congress took relatively little final action. Most important:

TRANSPORTATION. Both the Administration and the Senate wanted to din into the Highway Trust Fund, now accumulating at \$6 billion a year from gasoline taxes and other special levies, in order to help urban mass transportation. The House disapproved. After days of bargaining, the Senate-House conference committee reached a compromise-about \$7 billion for highways plus \$1 billion a year from general taxes for mass transit. House Republicans, apparently responding to Administration opposition to new tax burdens, scuttled that by calling for a quorum after most Congressmen had gone home. That meant, for the first time since the road-building program began in 1956, no new legislation at all for

highway construction. In theory, highway funds will run out next spring, and the Congress will then be more amenable to opening up the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit.

NOISE POLUTION. Congress approved a bill giving the federal Environmental Protection Agency two years to set new standards for major noise sources like motor vehicles and construction equipment. After a separate nine-month study, the EPA will recommend new air-craft- and airport-noise limits, which will be implemented by the Federal Aviation Administration. If signed by the President, the bill takes a giant step forward in the quest for quiet.

CHECKING ON CYANIDE VATS AT HANNECHE

That Awful Smell

More than a year ago, the burghers of Hannêche in eastern Belgium began complaining about "that awful smell" emanating from the rusty vats stored in an abandoned sugar-beet factory. Cats died from it. Trees shed their leaves. Grass turned brown. One of the stored vats burst, and the stench, rather like the smell of decomposing rats, brought still more complaints from the village of Burdinne, six miles away. Only last month, finally, did the ministry of labor, which deals with environmental problems, get around to investigating. It found that the vats contained between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of potassium cyanide-theoretically enough to kill every person in Europe.

The poison, along with tons of other toxic wastes, had come from chemical plants all over Europe, partly be-

cause Belgium has extremely tolerant oppolitution laws, partly because the village of Hannéche (pop., 300) has a rather tolerant government. Specifically, Mayor Edouard Elias and his town council had struck an agreement with pany named Vebeka. Elias got a seat on the company board and Vebek as got a license to dump wastes in the carrenous olf factory; the town would get 755 per ton of the lefthal garbage. Veberone of the council part of the part of the lefthal garbage. Veberone of the part of the part of the lefthal garbage veberones of the forms van danger at all. believe me. I have experience in these things."

Lethal Chemicals. Nonetheless, fearful Hannêche authorities refused to renew Vebeka's license, so Vebeka went out looking for new dumping grounds.

"I had to do something," says Van den

"saws"

"Boger". Several big transports were on their waytwelve tons from Westermany, 18 tons from Switzermany, 18 tons from Switzermany, 18 tons from Switzersomething to the same the same
So he joined with anotherBelgian firm and made new
arrangemens. In Hasselt, for
example, he left 50 tons of lethal chemicals in a shed just
canal, which supplies, but
exery with its drinking water,
were just its drinking water.

"This case is a very serios one," declared Labor
Minister Louis Major when
he heard the details. "For
several nights we couldn't
sleep at the thought of the
tons of cyanide at Hannêche.
We couldn't understand how
such imports were smuggled
into our dear country."

Belgium has plenty of laws designed to protect citizens from buying toxic products but none to control the disposal of toxic wastes. Van den Bogert and other entrepreneurs openly and legally took advantage of the situation to turn Belgium into

Europe's dump. Belgium even made a profit from all the business—confirmation of Premier Gaston Eyskens' maxim that "prosperity is more important than the quality of life."

The Hannêche scandal changes all that. Belgium's Parliament is expected to act this week to outlaw any further dumping. At Hannêche, 50 specialists from the civil defense department. wearing rubber suits and gas masks. now are carefully examining and repacking some 10,000 drums of chemical wastes, many of which turn out to be labeled "concentrated orange juice. The poisons are to be transferred to the nuclear center of Mol, near Brussels, but scientists there do not have the means to get rid of the toxic stockpile either. The most likely solution: the poisons will eventually be dumped far out in the Atlantic. It is another place where

no laws prevent cheap disposal.



NOT EVEN A TENNESSEE WINTER changes the temperature of the limestone spring that runs from the cave in Jack Daniel's Hollow.

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And it's completely iron free. Our 'stiller is particularly glad of that because iron is murderous to whiskey. That's why Jack Daniel started our distillery here over a century ago. And we've never seen fit to change anything Mr. Jack started. After a sip of our whiskey, we trust, you'll be glad of that.



DROP BY DROP FAST-WEST TRADE

The Deals Are Coming

ONE of the diplomatic trophies that Richard Nixon had hoped to bring home from Moscow last spring was an agreement establishing the basis for vastly increased U.S.-Soviet trade, which the President firmly believes is a sine qua non for improved relations between the superpowers. By the time the Kremlin talks had ended. however, both sides were still hung up on too many points of contention to issue more than a general statement of optimism. Last week that optimism turned into something far more solid than words. The U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a comprehensive agreement setting up the terms for an exchange of commerce that could well reach the \$1 billion level annually by the end of the decade. The only thing that keeps the signing from appearing quite the historic occasion that it unquestionably was is the possibility of a new hang-up, this time in the U.S. Congress.

As part of the deal, the Soviets agreed to settle their World War II Lend-Lease debts to the U.S. for \$722 million, to be paid in annual installments through the year 2001. The Admistration claimed that the terms, which amount to only about 7e on the dollar for Moscow \$ \$11.1 billion Lend-dollar for \$1.1 billion Lend-doll

a quarter century's interest payments is not counted.

Other key points of the agreement:

• Mutual treatment of each other's goods as imports from "most-favorednations," meaning that both countries must impose the lowest possible tariffs on the other's merchandise. The effect of such tariff treatment on Russian vodka in the U.S. for example, would be to cut about 51 per quart from its retord to the cut of the property of the Solichnaya brand more competitive with American products.

Extension of commercial credit generally made available by each not ton to its other trading partners. This provision would entitle Soviet trading monopolies to seek financing for their U.S. purchases from the Government

the Soviet Fóreign Trade Bank.

Construction of an office-apartment-hotel complex in each capital for
use by permanent and visiting trade
groups. Residents of the Soviet trade
center in Washington, of course, with
government officials. The Russians will
allow some private U.S. firms to set up
branch offices in the U.S. complex in
Moscow, but capitalism's physical presvery lonely outpost. Before a company's
very lonely outpost. Before a company's
officials can even be ranted office

space, they must have already established their firm as an "active trading partner" with the Soviet Union, presumably by having engineered deals that were to Moscow's liking on business visits. The few that qualify can then set up a Moscow staff of only five Americans and import a single company car.

The President has the authority to execute on his own all parts of the trade agreement except one. Most-favorednation status can be granted only by Congress, and therein hangs a potentially serious threat. No fewer than 76 Senators have gone on record as opposing MFN as long as Soviet officials continue trying to halt the swelling exodus of their Jewish citizens by charging exorbitant exit fees. The Soviets have privately recognized Nixon's lack of full power over the matter, and may be willing to loosen up on some restrictions in order to ensure clearance of the final hurdle blocking their much-desired access to American technology. Indeed, on the day of the signing, for no apparent purpose other than to signal such a willingness, Moscow authorities granted special exit without any education tax to 59 Jewish families who normally would have had to ante up sevrepayments to gain it. Secretary of State William Rogers said merely that the U.S. will continue to use "quiet diplomacy" in attempting to ease the plight of Russian Jews.

Beyond the congressional shadow, trade between the U.S. and Russia looks as if it will become a brisk, though hardly thriving business. Total purchases of both nations from each other, now running at a minuscule \$200 million annually, are expected to triple over the next three years, with the U.S. coming out considerably ahead on the balance of payments. Commerce Secretary Peter G. Peterson, who signed the agreement with Soviet Trade Minister Nikolai S. Patolichev, said that the Russians are expected shortly to order \$60 million worth of earth-moving equipment for excavation of their huge new Kama River truck factory. At week's end, as if to signify that such business deals were already becoming routine, the Soviets signed a \$68 million order for pipe-laying equipment with Caterpillar



NIXON & PATOLICHEV (WITH INTERPRETER) DISCUSSING TRADE AGREEMENT Capitalism's presence in Moscow will be a lonely outpost.

ANTITRUST

The Specter of I. B and M

In a final flurry of activity on the last usiness day of the Johnson Administration in 1969, the Justice Department initiated one of the most sweeping antitrust suits since the forced breakup of Standard Oil Co. in 1911. In it, the Government charged that In-

BUSINESS

ternational Business Machines Corp. exercised such overwhelming power in the burgeoning data-processing field that genuine competition was impossible. The case has droned on fruitlessly since then; federal prosecutors have been forced to sift through 27 million documents provided by IBM in its defense. Last week, in response to a court order demanding that it spell out precisely how IBM should be punished, the Government took a time-honored legal zig and asked for the ultimate. IBM, it said, should be broken up into an unspecified number of "independent and competitively balanced entities

That drastic proposal, which would cause one of the biggest business divestitures in U.S. history, seemed to leave nearly everyone magnificently unmoved. A total breakup of the company, scoffed IBM Chairman T. Vincent Learson, "will never happen." IBM's lawyers accused the Justice Department of attempting to complicate and stall the case further by expanding its complaint beyond the company's domestic operations to include its fast-expanding international business as well. Even investors, after an initially skittish reaction that sent the company's stock tumbling 14 points, rallied behind Wall Street's perennial darling. IBM closed the week at 387, up eight points from its Monday opening.

Caution. In fact, there is ample reason to believe that the Government is not anxious to press its case in the near future. For one thing, IBM's hierarchy is an extremely well-connected lot. Thomas Watson, son of the founder and chairman of IBM's executive committee, is an active member of the Democrats for Nixon committee, and his brother Arthur is the President's Ambassador to France. The company's general counsel, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, happens to have been U.S. Attorney General under L.B.J. and the immediate predecessor of Ramsey Clark, who filed the suit now being fought.

Politics aside, the sheer size and complexity of IBM and the computer industry pose a formidable challenge to the Government's legal resources. One measure of the sums of money at stake in IBM: the total market value of the company's stock is about \$45 billion. which is only \$4 billion less than the value of all the stocks listed on the American Stock Exchange. The computer industry's enormously complicated leasing and shared-time arrangements, its huge lines of software and peripherals, its exponentially advancing technology, all make legal accountability far more difficult than in older-line industries like oil or even chemicals. Moreover, any terms for final settlement that the Justice Department offers IBM will have to take into account their possible effect on such weighty national matters as the U.S. balance of payments and world scientific leadership. As recently as three weeks ago, Justice Department Prosecutor Ray-

mond M. Carlson candidly admitted: "We're not ready for trial."

Not that IBM's day in court will be put off indefinitely. The central contention of the Government's case-that IBM dominates a giant industry as no other U.S. company does-is practically incontestable. The Justice Department estimates that some 70% of all revenues spent in the U.S. last year on general-purpose digital computers went to IBM, v. 8.1% to Honeywell Inc., its nearest competitor. Last week's legal ploy left the Government maximum bargaining room for a later out-of-court settlement. It also may string out the litigation for several more years, forcing IBM to continue a growing policy of caution toward smaller competitors.

CORPORATIONS

Hughes in Public

The prospectus that arrived at the Securities and Exchange Commission last week was illustrated with color pictures of dragon-teethed drilling bits -the applicant's main product. It might have been just one of dozens of similar documents submitted by firms before their stock can be sold to the public except for the name. The Hughes Tool Co., crown jewel of the Howard Hughes financial empire, was up for sale. Hughes inherited Toolco in 1924 at the age of 18 from his father, who had invented a triple-headed conical drilling bit that revolutionized the oildrilling business. The company became the cornerstone upon which the ambitious young Hughes built one of the

largest private fortunes in the world.

Now the Oil Tool Division, along with the Hughes Tool Co. name, will be offered to the public in 5,000,000 shares of common stock for a maximum

of \$28 a share, or a possible total of some \$140 million. The rest of Toolco's divisions will be massed under a new umbrella organization called the Summa Corp., presumably for the Latin word meaning highest. The billionaire-in-hiding, who is reportedly living in Managua, Nicaragua, was expectably silent on his reasons for the sale. Hughes' ex-Financial Adviser Noah Dietrich speculated that "he needs cash" to shore up his Nevada gambling interests and the Hughes Airwest airlines, both hard hit in the recession. Hughes may also need a reserve against the pressure of several pending lawsuits. especially a \$145 million antitrust judgment awarded against him in favor of TWA, now on appeal to the Supreme Court. In addition, Hughes is involved in multimillion-dollar damage suits brought by Dietrich and former Aide Robert Maheu, Maheu found himself "absolutely flabbergasted" by the Toolco sale, recalling that "selling Hughes Tool was the one thing Hughes said he would never do."

Hughes may need cash for a new venture rumored to be in the offing. Last July, he bought 25% of the stock of Nicaraguan Airlines, apparently with the intention of developing an international air-cargo enterprise from a base in Managua. If so, the financial phantom may only be exchanging his long-coveted crown jewel for an old love, aviation.

Whatever his motives, Hughes probably timed the sale shrewdly. After shrinking for the past few years, oil exploration is again on the rise, in large part because of the gathering energy crists. In the first seven months of 1972 the Oil Tool Division showed profits of \$5.9 million, up 133% over the same pre-share price of \$28 is as good at Hughes will ever be and to get again."





SALESMAN FIGURING IN CALIFORNIA



DISCOUNT SALE IN MANHATTAN

NEW PRODUCTS

Calculated Warfare

Since they were first introduced 14 months ago as a kind of executive toy. pocket calculators have amazed their own inventors by appealing to a wide range of consumers, including many whose most pressing known mathematical need is the totaling of bridge scores. Originally marketed mostly by officeequipment firms, the electronic gadgets are now found in countless department stores, photo marts, gift shops and other mass retail outlets. No fewer than 50 U.S. firms have started making minicalculators, which perform the four standard mathematical functions instantaneously, yet are small enough to fit inside a man's suit-coat pocket. But lately manufacturers and retailers trying to cash in on the calculator craze have found themselves drawn into a price war that may leave some of the industry's pioneers in the minus column.

The calculators are yet another consumer hand-me-down from the aerospace programs of the 1960s. The machine's brain is a tiny silicone chip coated with layers of metal oxide, and was originally developed for use in the guidance systems of missiles and spacecraft. The chip crams the calculating power of several thousand transistors into an amazingly tiny package, with the read-out of problems appearing on a digital lighting panel. Prices range from \$60 to \$425, depending on the number of digits a model can handle and its extra features. By far the most important of these is the presence of a "floating" decimal point that automatically appears in an answer at the proper location. Machines that carry such a device usually cost \$90 and up.

The portable, battery-operated calculators have endless and obvious applications on the job. A Miami fruit grower carries his around to estimate the yields ripening in his apple and orange groves; a Maryland cartographer bought one to compute distance ratios on his maps; a Florida-based jet pilot keeps his in the cockpit to reckon flight times. But the calculators became a sales sizzler only when general consumers, once again proving their fascination with small electronic gadgery, decided that they would also make handy checkbook balancers, income tax figurers and math-course timesavers. About half a million mini-calculators have been sold in the past year, and the total is expected to grow to 3,000,000 units in 1973.

Thin Profits. In a rush to tap the vast consumer market, manufacturers and retailers have slashed prices by a much as \$100 per unit. Further price cuts are expected after the Christmas shopping season; some retailers estimate that by next summer the cheaper models will sell for as little as \$35 to \$50. A price cut of that size could clob-cut of the size could clob-cut of the size could clob-cut the first pocket calculators, since most are mere assemblers and must buy parts from a major supplier.

Two such big suppliers. Texas Instruments and North American Rockwell, recently introduced their own mini-calculator models. Other giants already in the field include Litton Industries and Hewlett-Packard. As a result of such gathering competition, the stock prices of some of the smaller pioneers, notably Bowmar Instrument and Eldorado Electrodata Corp. have dropped, even though their current profits are actually climbing.

Additional competition is coming from Japan. More than two dozen Japanese firms, including Canon, Sony, Hitachi and Panasonic, have started producing and exporting the small calculators. Following the strategy that they used so successfully with transistor radios, the Japanese are trying to corner the market by lowering prices and accepting razor-thin profits on high volume But for once American producers seem able to stand on their own feet. U.S.-produced calculators are made on almost totally automated assembly lines, thus eliminating Japan's advantage of cheaper labor.

MARKETING

Nutrition by Numbers "The more you know about green

beans, the better for Del Monte." Two the commercial of one of the nation's largest canning companies. Now Del Monte will fell U.S. consumers a good deal more than simply how it picks its bear. The company has become the first commercial canner to adopt the Food and Drug Administration's proposed voluntary guidelines for listing on a can's label the nutritional value of its contents. Beginning next summer. Del Monte's 34 bestelling products will be orice count and a profile of vitamine and minerals, from A to ribollavin.

Nutrition labeling can turn into a numbers game. Food manufacturers pump some cereals and even cupcakes full of vitamins, without mentioning that they still contain as much as 45% sugar. But Del Monte's new labels will be helpful to shoppers wishing to plan balanced meals. Those who consume mainly starchy vegetables like peas and beets, for example, can substitute more spinach and asparagus after a little common sense comparison of carbohydrate counts. Says Dr. Michael F. Jacobson, author of Eater's Digest: "It will require some maturity on the part of consumers to accept the fact that every food should not have to contain every vitamin and mineral." Del Monte Group Vice President James Schmuck agrees, saving that "the most important niece of information on the label may be: 'For good nutrition, eat a variety of foods.' "Schmuck adds that Del " Schmuck adds that Del Monte's decision to use the new labels was based on solid market research indicating that customers want nutritional

DEL MONTE LABEL SHOWING FOOD VALUES



NORTH. . 18 No 454 9999 Cap Apper 2
INGREDIENTS GREEN BEANS WATER SAIT

NUTRITION NO FORMATION — PER ONE CLIP PORTITION
CALORIES 45 FAT
PERCENT OF STANDARD RECOMMENSED

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PROTEIN 29 NACH
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For good nutrition eat a variety of foods.

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ARISTOTIE

In the pantheon of virtues that made the U.S. great. Inone stands higher than the work ethic. As Richard Nixon defined it in a nationwide radio address: The work eithe holds that labor is good in itself; that a man or woman at work not only makes a conson by virtue of the act of working. "Lately the President has so often mentioned the work ethic—and so often suggested that it may be endangered—that its veneration and preservation have become something of a campaign issue. The President warns ominously: "We are faced with a choice between the work either that built but outded to the the American the characteristics."

Is the Work Ethic Going Out of Style?

In Nixon's implied demonology, the man who stands for "the welfare ethic" is George McGovern. Candidate McGovern briefly proposed that, as a substitute for some existing federal assistance programs.

acter to weaken

Candidate McGovern bretly proposed that, as a substitute for some existing federal assistance programs, the Government give a \$1,000 grant to every man, woman and child in the land, whether working or not. Yet McGovern, every bit as compulsive a worker as Nixon, is solidly in faxor of the work ethic, say-the existing the solid proposed of the worker of the worker

But will they? Or is the work ethic really in trouble?

There are signs aplenty that the ethic is being challenged, and not just by welfare recipients. In offices and factories, many Americans appear to reject the notion that "labor is good in itself." More and more executives retire while still in their 50s, dropping out of jobs in favor of a life of ease. People who work often take every opportunity to escape. In auto plants, the contract of the co

industry, employees are increasingly refusing overtime work; union leaders explain that their members now value leisure time more than time-and-a-half.

Beyond that, an increasing number of Americans see no virtue in holding jobs that they consider menial or unpleasant. More and more reject such work—even if they can get no other jobs. Though unemployment is a high 5.5% of the labor force, shortages of taxi drivers, domestic servants, auto mechanics and plumbers exist in many place.

Young adults are particularly choosy; many have little interest in the grinding routine of the assembly line or in automated clerical tasks like operating an addressing machine or processing a payroll. The nation's 2.25 million workers under 30, nursed on television and still showing their Spock marks, may in fact be too educated, too expectant and too anti-authoritarian for many of the jobs that the economy ofers then. Affluence, the new rise in bedonsin, and the anfers then affluence, the new rise in bedonsin, and the anfers then affluence, the new rise in bedonsin, and the anticular than the state of the state of the state of the decidence of the state of the state of the state of success.

iner pareits bedication to work for the agaze of saccess. More than the youth are uneasy. A Gallup poll of work of all ages last year showed that 19% were displayed with a subsect of the ages of the subsect of the "working people with whom I have talked make quite clear the ways they feel cornered, trapped, longuised, and they are the subsect of the

surprise, considering that only fairly recently in human development has man-or woman-had anything but contempt for work. The Greeks, who relied on slaves for their work, thought that there was more honor in leisure-by which they meant a life of contemplation—than in toil. As Aristotle put it: "All paid employments absorb and degrade the mind." Christianity finally bestowed a measure of dignity on work. Slaves and freemen are all one in Christ Jesus, said St. Paul, adding: "If any one will not work, let him not eat." For the medieval monks, work was a glorification of God; the followers of St. Benedict, the father of Western monasticism, set the tone in their rule: "Laborare est orare"-to work is to pray. During the Reformation. John Calvin asserted that hard-earned material success was a sign of God's predestining grace, thus solidifving the religious significance of work. Around Calvin's time, a new, commerce-enriched middle class rose. Its members challenged the aristocracy's view that leisure was an end in itself and that society was best organized hierarchically. In its place they planted business values, sancti-

The Puritans were Calvinists, and they brought the work ethic to America. They punished fidleness as a serious mis-demeanor. They filled their children's cars with copybook maxims about the devil finding work for file hands and God migrants took those lessons to heart, and they aimed for what they thought was the diffunds excess open to them—middle-class status. They almost defined Horatio Alger's ficundated and they are the status of the control of the discount of the disc

fying the pursuit of wealth through work.

During the Great Depression, the work ethic flourished because people faced destitution unless they could find something productive to do. World War II intensified the work eithic under the banner of patriotism. While the boys were on the battlefront, the folks on the home front serenaded Rosis the Riveter; a long day's work was a contribution to the national defense. In sum, the American work ethic is root oil Puritian pietry, immigrant ambition and the success ethic; it has been strengthened by Depression trauma and wartime patriotism.

Not much remains of that proud heritage. Today, in a time of the decline of organized churches, work has lost most of its religious significance. Horatio Alger is camp. Only loa minority of workers remember the Depression. Welfar and unemployment benefits have reduced the absolute necessity of working, or at least made idleness less unpleasant.

Automation has given many people the ethic-eroding impression that work may some day be eliminated, that machines will eventually take over society's chores. Says John Kenneth Galbraith: "The greatest prospect we face is to eliminate toil as a required economic institution."

Do all these changes and challenges mean that Americans have lost the work ethic? There is considerable evidence that they have not After all, more than 90% of all men in the country between the ages of 20 and 54 are either employed or actively seeking work—about the same percentage as 25 years ago. Over the past two decades, the percentage of married women who work has risen from 25% of the contract of the past work of the contract of the co

Despite signs to the contrary, young people retain a strong commitment to work. A survey of college students conducted by the Daniel Yankelovich organization showed that 79%



ST. BENEDICT



JOHN CALVIN

96



"Leave it to good old G.M. to break the monotony of the assembly line!"

DREWING BY ALAN DUNN. @ 1972 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE. IN:

believe that commitment to a career is essential, 75% believe that collecting welfare is immoral for a person who can work, and only 30% would welcome less emphasis in the U.S. on hard work

What is happening is that the work ethic is undergoing a radical transformation. Workers, particularly younger ones, are taking work more seriously, not less. Many may have abandoned the success ethic of their elders, but they still believe in work. Young and old are willing to invest more effort in their work, but are demanding a bigger payoff in satisfaction. The University of Michigan Survey Research Center asked 1,533 working people to rank various aspects of work in order of importance. "Good pay" came in a distant fifth, behind "interesting work," "enough help and equipment to get the job done," "enough information to do the job," and "enough authority to do the job."

Indeed in labor contract negotiations expected to begin early next summer, the United Auto Workers intend to make a major point of its demand for increased participation by workers in decision-making within plants. "People look at life in different ways than they used to," says Douglas Fra-ser, a U.A.W. vice president. "Maybe we ought to stop talking about the work ethic and start talking about the life

The trouble is that this new humanistic, holistic outlook on life is at odds with the content of many jobs today. Most white collar work involves elemental, mind-numbing clerical operations. Factory work is usually dull and repetitive, and too often dirty, noisy, demeaning and dangerous as well. It is a national scandal that last year on-the-job accidents killed 14,200 U.S. workers. In most auto assembly plants, a worker must even get permission from his foreman before he can go to the bathroom. The four-day week offers no real prospect for humanizing work; doing a boring job for four days instead of five is still an empty experience. Charles Reich says: "No person with a strongly developed aesthetic sense, a love of nature, a passion for music, a desire for reflection, or a strongly marked independence could possibly be happy in a factory or white collar job.

A few enlightened employers have concluded that work, not workers, must change. Says Robert Ford, personnel director at American Telephone & Telegraph: "We have run out of dumb people to handle those dumb jobs. So we have to rethink what we're doing." In restructuring work, corporate experimenters have hit on a number of productive and promising ideas. Among them:

Give workers a totality of tasks. In compiling its telephone books, Indiana Bell used to divide 17 separate operations among a staff of women. The company gradually changed, giving each worker her own directory and making her responsible for all 17 tasks, from scheduling to proofreading. Results: work force turnover dropped, and errors, absenteeism and overtime declined.

Break up the assembly line. A potentially revolutionary attempt at change is under way in the Swedish auto industry. Volvo and Saab are taking a number of operations off the assembly line. Some brakes and other sub-assemblies are put together by teams of workers; each performs several operations instead of a single repetitive task. In the U.S., Chrysler has used the work team to set up a conventional engineassembly line; two foremen were given complete freedom to design the line, hand-pick team members and use whatever tools and equipment they wanted.

Permit employees to organize their own work. Polaroid lets its scientists pursue their own projects and order their own materials without checking with a supervisor; film assembly workers are allowed to run their machines at the pace they think best. A T & T eased supervision of its shareholder correspondents and let them send out letters to complainants over their own signatures, without review by higher-ups. Absenteeism decreased and turnover was practically eliminated. Syntex Corp. allowed two groups of its salesmen to set their own work standards and quotas; sales increased 116% and 20% respectively over groups of sales-

men who were not given that freedom.

Let workers see the end product of their efforts. Chrysler has sent employees from supply plants to assembly plants so they can see where their parts fit into the finished product. The company has also put assembly-line workers into inspection jobs for oneweek stints. Said one welder: "I see metal damage, missing welds and framing fits that I never would have noticed before.

Let workers set their own hours. In West Germany, some 3,500 firms have adopted "sliding time." In one form of the plan, company doors are open from 7 a.m. until 7 p.m., and factory or office workers can come in any time they like, provided that they are around for "core time," from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., and they put in a 40-hour week. Productivity is up, staff turnover is down, and absenteeism has fall-

Treat workers like mature, responsible adults. A few firms are attempting to give workers more status and responsibility. In its Topeka, Kans., plant, for example. General Foods has eliminated reserved parking spaces for executives, banished time clocks, made office size dependent not on rank but on need, abandoned the posting of in-plant behavior rules and put the same carpeting in workers' locker rooms as in executives' offices.

The work ethic is alive, though it is not wholly well. It is being changed and reshaped by the new desires and demands of the people. "The potential of the work ethic as a positive force in American industry is extremely great," says Professor Wickham Skinner of the Harvard Business School, "We simply have to remove the roadblocks stopping individuals from gaining satisfaction on the job. The work ethic is just waiting to be refound.

In the new ethic, people will still work to live. but fewer will live only to work. As Albert Camus put it: "Without work all life goes rotten. But when work is soulless, life stifles and dies." It will be a long while, if ever, before men figure out ways to make the work of, say, a punch-press operator or a file clerk soul-enriching. While waiting for that millennium-which may require entirely new forms of work -bosses who expect loyalty from their employees should try to satisfy their demands for more freedom, more feeling of participation and personal responsibility, and more sense of accomplishment on Donald M. Morrison



RAGGED DICK



ROSIE THE RIVETER



Merrill Lynch announces 29 ways your money could make more money.

Do You know how to make \$100 work like \$1,000?

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If not, you've got plenty of company. So much has happened in the world of investments lately that many investors have a hard time keeping up.

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Check off the ways that interest you. Then see our offer at the end of the list for details.

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Stocks offer the most direct way to share in the fortunes of major American companies. For example, take the companies in the S&P 500. In the last 10 years, the price of their stocks were up a hefty 85 percent—while dividends nose 49 percent. Of course, past history is not necessarily a guide to the future. But we recommend listed stocks more often than any other kind of investment. Long term, they're tough to beat.

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Diversification and professional management for a fee. When you buy one
of the 12 growth funds offered by
Merrill Lynch, you get something extra.
Our Security Analysts keep an eye on
what the funds are doing and issue
periodic reports.

3. Convertible bonds: Convertible into the common stock of the company that issued the bond. They offer a way to earn a decent rate of interest, plus a chance for growth in capital. But you'll need your thinking cap. Con

vertibles are hard to understand.

1 4. Convertible preferred

stocks: Convertible into the common stock of the company that issued the preferred. They're often bought for the same reasons as convertible bonds.

How to get tax-free or tax-sheltered income.

☐ S. Municipal bonds: Issued by states, cities, and towns. Their big advantage: the interest they pay is free from Federal income taxes. So the net return can get very attractive. If your joint taxable income is \$30,000, for example, a \$1½ percent return on municipals is like getting 9 percent on a taxable investment.

☐ 6. Tax-free notes: Similar to municipal bonds, except that notes pay the face amount in less than a year. Some investors in high tax brackets use tax-free notes as a way to keep their money working between major commitments.

To Municipal bond funds: With as little as \$1,000, you can invest in a portfolio of many different municipal bonds, each chosen by professionals. The income is exempt from Federal taxes.

☐ 8. Deep discount bonds: Sell for a lot less than the face amount because they were issued when interest rates were lower. The tax advantage: When you collect the face amount (usually \$1,000), your profit is taxed as a capital gain, not as ordinary income.

☐ 9. Retirement programs (self-employed): Doctors, lawyers, and other self-employed people can get many of the retirement income benefit of people who work for big corporations. The tax advantage: Within limits, you don't have to pay Federal taxes on the money you put into your plan until you retire.

☐ 10. Flower bonds: U.S. Government bonds with a special feature. You buy them at a discount. But the Federal Government will accept them at full value in payment of Federal estate taxes (which is why they're called "flower" bonds).

☐ 11. Tax-sheltered investment programs: A way to buy an interest in a limited partnership that invests in businesses like real estate and cattle feeding. The tax advantage: Accounting for depreciation and other factors will probably lead to tax write-offs in the early years. You'll need a substantial amount in net assets to join—and you should check with your tax consultant.

How to boost your retirement income—without going out on a limb.

☐ 12. Ginnie Mae pass-throughs: A way to get better than 7 percent on your money with payment of principal and interest guaranteed by the Federal Government. Special feature: Ginnie Mae's return part of the principal with the interest every month. Minimum investment: \$25,000.

☐ 13. Corporate bonds: A way to collect 7 to 8 percent interest from major corporations. For many retired people, that would mean a significant jump in investment income. High-grade corporate bonds are generally considered safer than the common stock of the same company.

☐ 14. Corporate bond funds: With as little as \$1,000, you can invest in a portfolio of many different corporate bonds. Professional managers choose the bonds, arrange for safekeeping, and collect the interest. You receive your pro rata share of the interest every month.

☐ 15. Balanced funds: So-called because your money goes into both

stocks and bonds. The objective is income plus modest growth. Some of our balanced funds offer a check-amonth plan—a very nice way to supplement Social Security.

☐ 16. Writing options: A way to increase the current income of a stock portfolio without sacrificing quality. You sell the right (an "option") to buy your stock to other investors. Sometimes, the price you get is high enough to equal several years' worth of dividends.

How to earn 7 to 10 percent on your money—right now.

☐ 17. Real estate investment trusts: A way to invest in big real estate projects — without having big money. Many real estate trusts cost less than \$50 a share. Dividend yield can run as high as 10 percent, but picking the good trusts takes a sharp eve for quality.

☐ 18. Preferred stocks: Unlike common stocks, preferred stocks have a fixed dividend rate. Many high-grade preferreds currently pay 7 to 8 percent.

How to invest as little as \$40 in Big Board stocks.

☐ 19. Special Investor Accounts:
A way to buy stock by the dollar's
worth instead of by the share. You pick
a New York Stock Exchange stock
from a list approved by our Research
Department—then buy as little as \$40
worth whenever you wish. You can invest by mail or through your Merrill
Lynch Account Executive. Your dividends can be reinvested automatically.

How to earn 3 to 7% with maximum safety.

20. U.S. Treasury Bills: Mature in up to a year. Have paid from 3.0 to

over 5.8 percent in 1972. Note: If you have to put up collateral for something, you can often do it with Treasury Bills, instead of with no-interest cash. Minimum investment: \$10,000.

☐ 21. U.S. Treasury Notes:
Mature in up to 7 years, have paid
from 4 to over 6.5 percent in 1972, depending on the life-span of the Note.
Like all Federal obligations, Treasury
Notes are guaranteed by the U.S. Government. Minimum investment: \$1,000.

☐ 22. U.S. Treasury Bonds: Mature in up to 26 years, have paid better than 6.7 percent in 1972. Minimum investment: \$1,000. (These are not the Savings Bonds most people are familiar with.)

23. U.S. Government Agency securities: Not issued by the Federal Government, but some have the Government guarantee. Yields now run from 4 to better than 7 percent, depending on the specific security and maturity date.

How to try for maximum growth (if you can stand the risks).

☐ 24. Common stocks (Over-the-Counter): Some OTC stocks are as solid as blue-chips, but a lot of them tend to have wide price swings. Which means a chance for big profits (or equally big losses). At Merrill Lynch, we make a market in over 600 leading OTC stocks.

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26. Buying options: Often called "puts and calls," options offer a

way to make \$100 work like \$1,000. But watch out. Leverage works both

☐ 27. Commodity futures: The opportunities for profit are enormous. So are the risks. But if you have a substantial amount in risk capital, \$50,000 in liquid assets, and plenty of self-control, we can show you a businesslike approach to commodity speculation.

How to get professionals to invest for you.

☐ 28. Investment counseling: Lionel D. Edie & Company, Inc., a Merrill Lynch subsidiary, invests substantial sums for a fee. The minimum portfolio is \$500,000.

☐ 29. Portfolio Development Programs: Offered by Lionel D. Edie & Company for accounts from \$25,000 and up. You state your investment objective, they'll develop a portfolio to match. Then they'll keep tabs on your progress and do all the buying and selling. Maximum annual fee is one percent of the amount invested.

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Now that you know what's available, maybe you'd like to get our opinion on how you should invest. If so, here's what we suggest.

Use this ad as a convenient checklist. Then send us a letter that includes the ways you've picked out, your investment objectives, income tax bracket, and a list of your current holdings. Please also tell us if you expect a major change in your financial status in the

Mail to Merrill Lynch, P.O. Box 540, Church Street Station, New York, New York 10008. We'll get back to you with specific recommendations. No charge or obligation.

Merrill Lynch is bullish on America.



SCIENCE

The U.S. Nobelmen

Six American scientists last week made a clean sweep of the 1972 Nobel Prizes in Physics and Chemistry. One of them. Physicist John Bardeen, 64. who shared the physics award, became the first person ever to win two Nobel Prizes in the same field: in 1956 he was awarded his first Nobel Prize as coinventor of the transistor

Bardeen shared this year's physics rize (worth \$98,100) with his former University of Illinois colleagues, Leon N. Cooper, 42, now of Brown University, and John R. Schrieffer, 41, of the University of Pennsylvania. They were honored for their fundamental work on superconductivity, a phenomenon that occurs in certain metals when they are chilled close to absolute zero (minus 459.7° F.). In that state, they lose all resistance to the flow of electric current.

Although superconductivity was discovered in 1911, it was not really explained until Bardeen, Cooper and Schrieffer offered their now-famous BCS theory" (from their initials) in 1957. At extremely low temperatures, they said, electrons are coupled with one another (in so-called Cooper pairs), cease their random collisions and flow unhindered. Superconductivity may lead to more efficient transmission of electrical power, better transportation systems, and even harnessing the energy of thermonuclear fusion.

The chemistry prize, also worth \$98,100, went to Christian Anfinsen, 56, of the National Institutes of Health. and Rockefeller University's Stanford Moore, 59, and William H. Stein, 61. for their work on enzymes. Made up of long, folded chains of amino acids, these proteins are essential intermediaries, or catalysts, in the body's vital chemical reactions. Anfinsen showed how the threedimensional shape of an enzyme-critical to its role in those reactions-is dictated by the order in which its amino acids occur. Moore and Stein, study-

ing the same enzyme-ribonuclease ingeniously unraveled its sequence of 124 amino acids. Such work has farreaching implications in medicine and industry, which uses enzymes to speed up the chemical reactions in the manufacturing of paper, textiles, drugs and other common products.

The Valley of Marvels

For centuries, the only visitors to the snowbound "Valley of Marvels," high in the Alps of Southeastern France. were shepherds and mountain climbers who risked the punishing 6,000-ft. trek from the village of St.-Dalmas-de-Tende, 30 miles northeast of Nice. The travelers all brought back tales of mysterious rock carvings, but no one could explain their origin. Were the ancient



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artists some Carthaginians who once lived in the region? Were they prehistoric men? Now, as a result of on-site study by a French archaeologist, the secrets of the carvings are beginning to come clear

Henry de Lumley, who has led many teams of volunteer explorers into the valley during snow-free summer months, believes that the primitive art was inscribed between 1800 B.C. and 1500 B.C. Thus the carvings belong "not to prehistory but to protohistory-that period of roughly 2,000 years between prehistoric times and recorded history De Lumley's dating involved shrewd detective work in museums. The short, triangular dagger blades portrayed in many of the engravings, for instance, closely resemble artifacts already identified as products of early Bronze Age (1800 B.C.-1500 B.C.) civilizations in the Rhone Valley and Swiss lake villages. Other daggers with either oval or elongated blades, concave edges and T-shaped hilts are typical of middle Bronze Age weapons made between 1500 B.C. and 1100 B.C.

The Bronze Age artists used a curious technique; with a tool made from hard rock, possibly quartz, they hammered or scraped groups of closely spaced small holes, I mm. to 5 mm. in diameter. Significantly, the most painstakingly executed samples of valley craftsmanship are found in the earliest engravings. Later artists were content with fewer and larger holes, and their work became blurred and uneven

The engravings include a rich but baffling array of symbols. The most frequently recurring images are horned figures-what De Lumley calls "stylized cattle." There are also daggers, crosslike inscriptions, stars and geometric forms, all of which may have had re-

"CHIEF OF TRIBE" CARVING

ligious significance. Only a few hundred of the 37,000 engravings catalogued thus far portray human figures: one example, known as the "Chief of the tirely out of horn symbols

With the aid of a computer at the University of Aix-Marseille, De Lumley hopes eventually to index all of the valley's more than 200,000 engravings. That could help him to interpret the obscure symbols and learn more about the men who carved them. All that he will say now is that the valley "appears to have been a sacred place in the Bronze Age. But by the beginning of the first millennium (100 B.C.), its message was

Unfortunately, the valley's treasure may also soon be lost. It is now being threatened by an onslaught of tourists and souvenir hunters who use chalk or abrasive stone on the engravings to make them stand out more clearly for snapshots. Some vandals have even hacked engravings out of rock faces or carted off entire slabs. "If this keeps up, De Lumley warns, "in 50 years the Valley of Marvels, the most remarkable cultural treasure of the Alps, will have been destroyed."

Fallout from Cannikin

The Atomic Energy Commission's announcement that it planned to test a multimegaton nuclear device under the Aleutian island of Amchitka last November touched off a shock wave of protest. Some critics charged that the explosion of an H-bomb in a region that was already known to be seismically active could trigger devastating quakes and the great sea waves, known as tsunamis, that often follow them. Environmentalists made dire predictions of a wildlife massacre. Nonetheless, the test took place, and it did not cause serious tremors or lasting environmental damage. Instead, after months of careful analysis, U.S. Government scientists now report that the Cannikin blast may well have provided some highly beneficial information. The fluctuations in the earth's magnetic field that resulted from the blast, they say, could help in

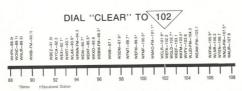
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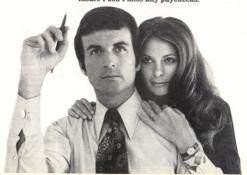
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SCIENCE

the development of an accurate method of predicting major earthquakes.

That conclusion, by Wilfred P. Hasbrouck and Joe H. Allen of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Adminisration, is based on readings from magnetiometers seemed from the contraction of the contraction of the conwere placed on each side of one of the faults that cross the thin 42-mile-long Actuina island. Amagnetiometer on the side where the nuclear device was detining gammas," in the local magnetic field. On the opposite side of the fault from ground zero, the intensity of the magnetic field was found to have dropped by as much as eleven gammas

Squeezed Field. Hasbrouck and Allen theorize that on the side of the fault where the blast occurred, the rock was compressed. As a result, the magnetic particles in the rock were squeezed closer together, and the magnetic field was intensified. On the opposite side of the fault, the chop the rock, pulling the magnetic particles apart and thus reducing the field's intensity.

Scientists have known that the buildup of stresses in the earth before dangerous quakes is often accompanied by slight changes in the magnetism of local rock. But there have been few measurements of that geopiezomagnetic effect before or during actual quakes. With more data like those gathered during Cannikin, Hasbrouck and Allen hope, scientists should be able to determine accurately the relationship between accumulated stress and the magnetic changes in an earthquake zone. Then, by monitoring the magnetic field, they may well be able to forecast serious upheavals.

The Female Male

Word may not have filtered down to local chapters of Women's Lib, but a renegade group has been found among the ranks of Australian females. Both sexes of Labroides dimidiatus, a unprepossessing little fish of the wrasse family that lives in the waters of the Great Barrier Reef, are rampant male chauvinists. Not only do the males rule the reef, but the females like the idea so much that they turn into males themselves at the first opportunity.

After careful observation of many groups of wrase, D.R. Robertson, a zoologist at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, found that the death or disappearance of a male has a startling effect on one of the several female fish in his harem: she becomes a male. Within a few hours of her liberation from the influence of a male, the head female in the harem begins to display male mannerisms. She reconnoisers he bordern agressive calls to the other females. Within four days her courtship and "United Grands" of the other females. Within four days her courtship and "United Grands" of the other females.

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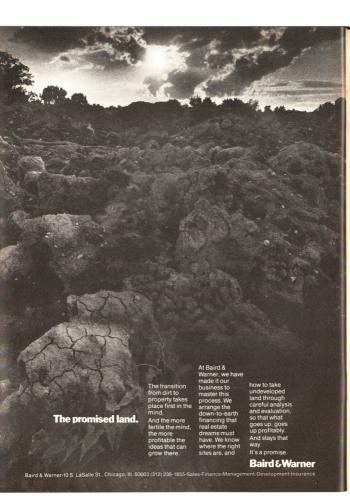
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spawning behavior cannot be distinguished from a male's. From 14 to 18 days after her accession to power she actually becomes a functioning male, physiologically capable of releasing sperm.

Over a period of 25 months, Robertson studied 19 different harems of L. dimidiatus and recorded 48 instances of sex transformation. "Probably all females are capable of changing sex, Robertson writes in Science, "and most (possibly all) have testicular elements within perfectly functional ovaries. What prevents wholesale sex transformation by the females in a harem is a chain of authority extending downward from the lone male. A former female (like most other males of this species), he bullies the strongest female, who in turn is overbearing toward the female under her, and so on down the social scale. As long as a wrasse remains un-



PAIR OF "LABROIDES DIMIDIATUS" Rampant males on the reef.

der the stress of domination, its body apparently does not produce the hormones necessary to effect a sex change. Once that stress is removed, however, hormone production is no longer inhibited, and a rapid transformation occurs.

Protogyny (the development of a male from a functional female) is not uncommon among other kinds of tropical fish. But the rigid hierarchy of the wrasse harems represents a much more stringent control over the production of males than is found in the comparatively random sex reversals of "schooling" fish. Robertson believes that the inbreeding produced by this aquatic pecking order is genetically advantageous to the species. Because "the social organization is a framework within which the selective process works," he concludes, the genes passed on by each male wrasse are those best adapted to the environment of the harem.

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CINEMA

Winter Dreams

THE KING OF MARVIN GARDENS Directed by BOB RAFELSON Screenplay by JACOB BRACKMAN

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though, out of the game

David (Jack Nicholson) is a latenight radio monologuist. Shy, self-absorbed to the point of obsession, he is a kind of FM Buddy Glass who rummages through his memories and fantasies looking for an always elusive epiphany. This odd, irresistibly fascinating film begins with one of his stories. "I promised to tell you why I never eat fish," David says to his radio audience, embarking on a desultory saga about how, years before, he and his brother Jason conspired to kill their grandfather with a piece of breaded sole and become "accomplices forever." The old man is very much alive, of course; David lives with him still, until a message arrives from Jason in Atlantic City: "Get your ass down here. Our kingdom

is come. Jason (Bruce Dern) lives like some



NICHOLSON & DERN IN "GARDENS" "Our kingdom is come."



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CINEMA

sleary sultan, complete with a harem consisting of an aging, manic coquette (Ellen Burstyn) and her empty-eyed stepdaughter Ulule Anne Robinson. He is a wheeler-dealer in shopworn line of patter that makes him sound like one of Eugene O'Neill's drummers. David, ever skeptical, eventually less himself be suckered in, more to demonstrate a kind of desperate solidarity with his brother than anything else. The scheme is an old Staeberf enlargs, take over an experience of the control of

To subsidize this vacant dream, Jason has been acting as front man for a black mobster called Lewis (Benjamin Seatman, Cottlens) and doing some fast real extate shuffling with a couple to the control of the control o

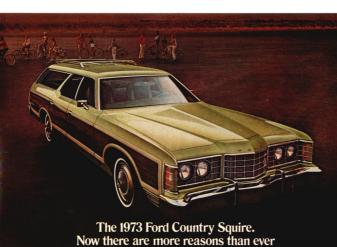
Five Easy Pieces. Bob Rafebons previous film, was a good, sharply observed melodrama. The King of Marin Gardens shows the same restrained, rhythmic editing and unemphatic camera movement, the same serupulous dent may not be as successful as Five Easy Pieces; yet in many ways it is more interesting and certainly more daring—the work of a talented director try-

ing to extend himself. Rafelson and Scenarist Brackman understand their two played-out heroes without ever condescending to them, although both writer and director are often guilty of using the same kind of tin-ear dialogue and trite image that David himself might employ in one of his tortuous monologues. One of Rafelson's most certain talents is a nearly preternatural instinct for working with actors, and Nicholson and Dern give consummate performances. In such diverse parts as the bemused attorney in Easy Rider, the laborer and fugitive musician in Five Easy Pieces, the tomcat of Carnal Knowledge, Nicholson has already displayed remarkable range. David, so thoroughly introverted, so tentative, is the most demanding role he has had so far partly because it does not give him the chance to do what is easy for him -display sudden rage, ruthlessness, a casual, cunning kind of cool. Here, wearing a slowly unraveling cardigan and squinting nervously behind a pair of glasses forever smudged with fingerprints, Nicholson invests David with real turmoil and vulnerability

For nearly a decade, Dern has been playing featured parts in everything from The Incredible Two-Headed Transplant to The Cowhoys, and this kind of apprenticeship has taught him how to turn a scene with a shrug or an



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CINEMA

inflection. Now, with the rich role of Jason, Dern's latents can really unfold. He has an almost combustible uncertainty that shades Jason's assurance with doubt and intimations of defeat on the state of the state

Bore War

YOUNG WINSTON
Directed by RICHARD ATTENBOROUGH
Screenplay by CARL FOREMAN

You may recall The Gurs of Nayronne, Gregory Peek, indomitable as ever, was the leader of a crack. World War II commando unit dispatched to destroy a brobdingmagian Nazi artillery unit. En route, Peek and his troops would often denounce the ironies of fate and the horrors of war, then slughter like Saracens when they finally came un against the foe.

ap against the ico.

Apparently impressed with the leadsoldier shenanigans of Navarone, Winston Churchil summoned its writerproducer Carl Foreman, talked with
him about the movie, and about such
previous Foreman scripts as The Bridge
on the River Kwai. Foreman was just
the man to write a movie version of his
early years, the statesman decided.

On the evidence of Young Winston, Foreman mistook this commission for a knighthood. The film that he and Director Attenborough (Oh What a Love-ty War) have whittled out of all the dispatches, memoirs and histories is aniseptic and servile, as empty of consteptic and servile.

flict as a biographical entry in the Britannica. The movie even employs an offscreen journalist, whose task it is to badger Young Winston (Simon Ward), his father Lord Randolph (Robert Shaw) and American mother (Anne Bancroft) with indelicate inquiries. "What precisely was the nature of your husband's last illness?" the journalist sneers from behind the camera, adding after an evasive answer, "Come, come, Lady Randolph, we live in modern times. Surely the word syphilis need hold no terrors for us." Lord Randolph's death, like his personal life, like his wife's love affairs and vaulting ambition for her son, is minimized with a few such fumbling innuendoes, and curiosity or concern over such matters is reduced to scandalmongering.

Better Luck. What remains is an enervating epic about a young man, unpromising at school, whose parents did not pay him quite enough attention. Since Young Winston attempts to be a kind of vest-pocket spectacle, there are also a couple of the battles in which he fought (a set-to in the Sudan, a Boer skirmish). Attenborough stages them with all the fury of a grade school recess. He has better luck with the actors, perhaps because he is an actor himself. Ward is credible in the thorny role of Winston as a young man, Shaw superb as his father. The secondary characters are all cast and played faultlessly, with Ian Holm as editor of the Times and Anthony Hopkins as Lloyd George especially engaging. Anne Bancroft, who ought to have been perfect as Lady Randolph, is thwarted largely by a part that asks her only to be coquettish or long-suffering. Young Winston suffocates her restless dynamism, just as it does the true power and substance of



WARD AS YOUNG WINSTON CHURCHILL IN 1895
Indelicate inquiries and lead-soldier shenanigans.

THE THEATER



ALEXANDER & ORBACH IN "RIV VU"

Rent-Controlled Love

6 RMS RIV VU

There are some plays that a reviewer would rather feed than judge. Like stray kittens, they rub up against you in an imploring, hard-to-resist way and make friendly little noises. They are so thin that one yearns to put flesh on the bones of their plots, give them vitaminrich lines to chew, and nourish their characters and situations.

6 Rms Riv Vu is just such a starveling kitten of a comedy. The tile is classified-ad shorthand for an apartment with a river view. The locale is Manhattan. Inspecting the rent-controlled flat are two strangers, Anne (Jane Alexander) and Paul (Jerry Orbach), both married, but with their respective spouses otherwise occupied. A missing doornob effectively locks them in together.

They begin giving each other resumes of their lives. He is Jewish, N.Y.U. She is Catholic, Barnard Colege. He is an ad copywriter who once wrote short stories. She is a devoted but midly discontented mother of two tots. Since they both approach adultery with the subdued arrol of a visit to the denist, an enormous burden is placed on as bartler and not sold enough as blumor. Anne and Paul finally do play combial hooky, but the sheer logistics of an illicit affair soon drive them, with considerable relief, back home.

Decency of this sort may be praiseworthy in real life, but it is slim fodder for a sexual comedy. In admirably wellkeyed performances, Orbach and Alexander are adept at conveying the festering guilt of two fundamentally honorable people who are good at chatting, bad at cheating.

BOOKS

The Green Bouquet

One of the enduring literary parfor games is listing the immortal losers of the Nobel Prize: Tolstoy, Proust, Joyce, Kafa and Rikie are but a few. Despite the vagaries of the judging, the award termins by far the most cover the prize with the prize of the pri

As has been rumored for weeks, this year's winner is West German Novelist



PRIZEWINNER HEINRICH BÖLL A bomb in the shrine.

Heinrich Böll, respected man of letters, prominent leftis Roman Catholic intellectual, and among the earliest and most insistent examiners of his country's conscience since World War II. Still, the ward did not escape gossip and secondguessing. The judges of Stockholm never publicly argue or explain their choice, but surely something more than art is involved.

This year, the story goes, Germany was ripe for recognition (Thomas Mann, in 1929, was the last German citizen to win). The other colorable candidate was Günter Grass, author of the savage satter. The Tin Drum, Boll's triumph may well be due to a line in Assayes satter. The triumph may be used to a line in Assayes satter, but the total the saverage to to writers of "idealistic tendency." Deep compassion for the ordinary man abounds in Boll's books.

Son of a Cologne sculptor and cabinetmaker, Böll was 20 when the Munich Pact was signed in 1938. As a Wehrmacht draftee, he fought mostly on the Eastern front and was wounded four times. Later he wrote of "the frightful fate of being a soldier and having

to wish that the war might be lost. After 1945 Böll worked as an assistant cabinetmaker but quit as soon as his first stories were published. A realist and an ironist, his prose is terse and direct, his manner as reticent and unflamboyant as Grass's is slashing and spectacular. The despair of war and its appalling hardship run through all his early work. For Böll, West Germany's postwar economic boom drowned out the moral voice of his country's guilty conscience. In 1959 he published Billiards at Half-Past Nine, a family chronicle in which the founding father is an architect who builds a famous religious shrine. Near the end of the war, his son, a demolitions expert, blows up the shrine unnecessarily because he is sick of the church's tolerance of the Nazis and disgusted by those who care more about the survival of their landmark than about the victims of the war. The Clown concerns the emotional collapse of a fellow who simply cannot accept the smug new prosperity. A new novel, Group Portrait with Lady, about the effects of the war on a very complex woman, will be published in the spring.

Böll is an industrious writer: at 54, the has turned out of books, not counting revisions or new collections. He likes the start of the

Einstein of the Mediocre

ST. GEORGE AND THE GODFATHER
by NORMAN MAILER
229 pages. Signet. \$1.50 (paperback).

Aquarius, the water bearer, has gone to the well once more. This time he is in Miami Beach, a few miles south of Cape Kennedy, site of his devil hunt in Ot a Fire on the Moon. In the retrement capital of the world, Norman Mailer is on familiar ground. He has aleady freelanced his way through three national conventions, most tellingly at the street brawls in Chicago in 1968.

Observing the national conventions this year did not offer Norman Mailer the physical perils or intellectual brinks he has relished in the past. That turns out to be a good thing. There is not nearly so much of what he calls his "goo liberation"—those warm-up exercises and public temperature takings that have long since turned into self-parody. Mailer can get right down to the business

of sniffing out the true spirit of the occasion. The result is that St. George and the Godfather (much of which originally appeared in LIFE) is a very brisk report on the dull goings on at Miami

Maller relies at least as much on his legs as he does on his punch. He at-tends the arrivals of the candidates, he color or the lack of it. There are even a few side trips. Like a true politician. Maller does not miss the opportunity to continue his attack on Women's Lib. Maller does how Women's Lib. The continue his attack on Women's Lib. The color of the White House to interview Henry Kissinger, who easily wraps Mailer touch his finger. But mostly Maller does what Maller does best clossing out met—usually maller dies best crossing out metallician with the color of the work of the work

There is Hubert Humphrey, "a Ren-

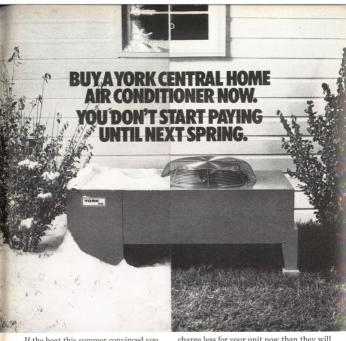


REPORTER NORMAN MAILER A shot at the wad.

aissance priest of the Vatican who could not even cross a marble floor without pieties issuing from his skirt." Ed Muskie, "a gentleman of the frontier out of the 19th century," ignominiously boxed between the new politics and the press. "Nobody," adds Malier, "forgives a favorite who loses by seven lengths." Only Eugene McCarthy possesses

the complexity and style that truly apped to Mailer. McCarthy is the witty "philosopher prince" who shares the author's love of language. "I like McGovern," says Mailer, "but I just wish he spoke with a little metaphor from time to time." "Methodsits are not much on metaphor," replies McCarthy.

medaphor, repnes or occasions, and an occasions, and occasions, an



If the heat this summer convinced you that you ought to have central air conditioning to help you get through next summer, your York Dealer* could have a proposition for you. It's a basic exchange of favors. Do him a favor by letting him install York Central Home Air Conditioning now, and he'll do you a favor by seeing to it that you don't have to pay a dime on it before May 15, 1973, assuming, of course, that you have a good credit rating.

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recognition of the demoniac part of hu-

A few weeks later at the Republican convention he finds all the demoniac presences he can handle. Unlike most Democrats, Mailer was not turned off by the G.O.P.'s carefully scripted agenda. In the stockholder-meeting monotony and evasive efficiency Mailer perceives the highest expression of Richard Nixon's political genius. In act, says Mailer, and the stockholder perceives the perceives the pibest expression of Richard Nixon's political genius. In act, says Mailer, and Asia have out the president.

Awe. A good part of this attitude is Malier's obvious awe of power and respect for professionalism, wherever found. But Nixon is even more in Mailer's eyes, not merely a political genius that a artist of the banal, "the Einstein of the mediocre and the intert." In anastrue account of the psychological balance-sheet, Malier sees that one egg attractive and the intert." and an antiwar demonstrator "can mop up the guilt off the Number of doministic or more up the guilt of five hundred bombs" dropped

on Viet Nam.

Elsewhere he marvels at the way the Republicans filled the TV screen with non-events, all the while knowing hat "The Wad." as he calls the general public, will always watch something rather than nothing—and indeed be soothed by it. Mailer seems both fascinated by and resigned to the power of mass noncommunication. He even offers the possibility that Esso is changing is name to Exxon because it sounds the control of the probability that Esso is changing in the control of the probability of the probabili

But more than anything else Mailer captures an atmosphere at the Republican national convention that resembles the eerie stillness at the eye of a hurricane. There Nixon, the complete centrist, rules by relocating his middle as the storm around him changes direction.

*R.Z. Shepoord

Money Is Truffles

THE HOUSE OF ALL NATIONS

787 pages. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

This is a long, unfathomably static but often exhilarating novel about money. There are 104 chapters, at least as many characters, and dialogue that runs on and on like ticker tape. Money is not a particularly easy subject for fiction. Miss Stead is no Balzac or Dickens; on the other hand, she is no Louis Auchincloss either. She is, however, obviously mesmerized by money and her sharpest writing is comment about it. "Certainly I understand the class war, says a rich old countess. "We steal from the pigs: the pigs know they want truffles and we want truffles when we see the pigs with them. Money is truffles."

The house of the title is the Banque

Mercure, a private bank for rich speculators flourishing in Paris during the grim days of 1931. (By no coincidence there was a famous whorehouse of the same name.) To the financial world it is known simply as Bertillon because its presiding and all-powerful genius is exey, elegant Jules Bertillon. Jules buys when the rest of the world is selling and he and his clients get rich as Europe he and his clients get rich as Europe

Around him swirl a vast collection of characters: the eccentric genius in grain futures, the Texas oil man (named Tanker!), blackmailers, thieves, underground Communists, wives, children—and mistresses, mistresses, mistresses, mistresses, There is no plot, only the liftfully told Mostly to affront the pretensions of a speculator he despises, Jules bets on the pound shortly before it collapses.



NOVELIST CHRISTINA STEAD The charms of avarice.

Though there is still time to hedge, Bertillon of Bertillon goes down with his pride.

An Australian who lives in London, Christina Stead is known in the U.S. chiefly for another doorstop novel called *The Man Who Loved Children*. Both books were originally published sortly before World War II and forgotten for 30 years. They are more alike than may at first appear. *The Man Who Loved Children* is an obsessive, virulent chronicle of domestic agony—the kind of endless, patiently malevolent novel Eugene O'Neill might have written.

In the House of All Nations, the approach is similarly expansive but the intensity is missing. To write it the author drew on the years when she and her husband were employed in a bank that collapsed. She observed the motley incarnations of greed who inhabited the place, and obviously developed a grudging fascination with the charms of avarice. But she has set it all in motion with more gusto than discrimination:

MILESTONES

Born. To Senator Strom Thurmond, 69, South Carolina's maverick senior statesman (and most prominent physical fitness fanatic), who bolted the Democrats and became a Republican, and Nancy Thurmond, 25, Miss South Carolina of 1966: their second child, first son; in Greenwood, S.C. Name: James Strom Thurmond J.

Married. William Harrah, 61, gambling impresario who parlayed a bingo parlor into Nevada casinos (Harrah's Reno and Lake Tahoe clubs), second in winnings only to those of Howard Hughes; and Roxana Carlson, 32, a model: he for the fifth time, she for the second; at his Lake Tahoe estate.

Divorced. Andy Griffith, 46, drawling, country-boy actor (No Time for Sergeants, A Face in the Crowd), who went on to an eight-year TV stint as the corn-bread sheriff of Mayberry on the Andy Griffith Shōw; and Barbara Griffith, 46; after 23 years of marriage, two children; in Santa Monica, Calif.

Died. Orlando Wilson, 72. criminological actories in Comer Chicago police chiefy of a stroke; in Poway, Callf. Wilson was a comparable of a stroke; in Poway, Callf. Wilson was Mayor Kichard Daley drafted him to reform a police department charged with corruption and imelliciency. Wilson cread a special 200-man squad to track down on police malfeasance, increased sure partols, reduced paper work and otherwise upgraded the force before retiring in 1967.

Died. Leo G. Carroll, 80. Britishborn actor most familiar to televato Topper series and the poker-faced spy Topper series and the poker-faced spy of cancer; in Hollywood. A shy man who regarded acting as therapy for his diffidence, Carroll enjoyed steady employment in hundreds of plays (Angel Street. The Late George Aples), score veries (Fellow) and frequent IV appearances, in a career that lasted more than half acentury.

Died. Harlow Shapley, 86, Harvard astronomer who proved that the earth and its solar system lay at the fringes rather than the center of the Milky Way; after a long illness; in Boulder, Colo. Shapley's study of globular star clusters and the changing luminosity of variable stars led to new means of measuring the vast distances across space and helped to disprove the belief that the earth's sun stood at the center of the universe. During the '40s and '50s he focused his gaze on earthly affairs. vehemently opposing McCarthyism, assaults on academic freedom and a foreign policy built on anti-Communism.



As you're fighting your way to the top it helps to have a taste of what's up there.



